The City's Church

H. Paul Douglass

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The City's Church is an interpretation, not technical but popular, of the American city in its relation to the church today. It concerns itself not with spectacular or exceptional city churches, but with the rank and file, including those of the suburbs. Says the author:

The city has treated the church roughly enough—eliminated a large fraction of religious institutions as unfit, and tossed the survivors about like corks upon the waves of change. Yet the city has also been in part upon the church's side. It has put its marks upon the church's successes as well as upon its failures.

Cooperative effort ought to be able to tip the balance. No longer at cross-purposes with one another or with urban development, but resolved to think and plan together and to use for their common advantage the resources of the city, the churches might bend themselves to the better doing of what urban life requires.

The trend of our city civilization either works to reinforce missionary endeavors or else to antagonize and inevitably defeat them. So far as the city is adversary, it is one with whom to agree quickly before the ultimate penalty is exacted. So far as the city is friend, no more dependable one exists with respect to the upbuilding of the church.

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BY

H. PAUL DOUGLASS

AUTHOR OF "THE NEW HOME MISSIONS,"
"THE SPRINGFIELD CHURCH SURVEY,"
"1000 CITY CHURCHES," ETC.

Bonebrake Theological Seminary

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PREFACE

THE building in which this preface is being written looks down upon the point of a church spire. Smothered between skyscrapers, the church bells do not sound ethereally from above, but only rise along with the jangling noises of the street below. One may notice the priest pacing in the walled yard of pocket handkerchief dimensions behind the church. Viewed from a hundred and fifty feet straight up, he seems to thrust his feet in and out from immediately beneath his hatbrim, as a turtle thrusts its feet from its shell. Both church and man appear flattened, squat. This physical dwarfing and distortion of the church in contrast with the towering city has become well-nigh a proverb for the diminished influence of religion. Certainly here the church no longer dominates the city visibly. It bears the outward form of something feeble and insignificant.

But one does not merely look down from the top of a skyscraper. One also looks off. What the distance shows is the interminable sprawling city of unimpressive height. Here its bigness is merely that of vast outstretch, of hundreds of miles of streets and acres upon acres of little houses. Here it is only as a collection of little things that the city is great. Yet such is most of Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, San Francisco, even of New York in the greater part

of its area. And in such areas church spires still dominate the skyline. May it not be, therefore, that the contrast between the vast city and the feeble church has been unreasonably stressed?

One of the marks of this book is that it has scrupulously refrained from overstatement so far as the church is concerned. The church is conservatively pictured in a great variety of aspects through representative examples, not through spectacular but non-typical exceptions.

Now it would be equally fallacious to depict the city in its most striking and exceptional aspects rather than in representative ones. Compare the city at top peak with respect to height, congestion, intensity of life, with the average church, and the church cannot fail to appear feeble and drab. But compare the average church with the average lot of the city masses, and the contrast is far less overpowering. Compare the dazzle of urban extremes with the most frequent level of church development, and one will be most disappointed in the response of the church to the city. But ask what sort of church would fairly reflect the city's vast middle classes, and it is not so far a cry to the church which actually exists.

It is just because of the major premise of this book, namely, that the city marks the church as its own, that false presumptions as to what the city may be expected to do must be avoided. The fact of the church's physical dwarfing, then, may be accepted

as a parable and an implicit challenge, but not as a verdict in advance of a broad survey of all the facts. To direct primary attention to the marks of the city upon the church is to minimize, for present purposes, the marks of human deliberation and labor.

The farmer naturally assumes that the essence of farming consists of farm practices, in the manifold toil of seed time and harvest and the care of flocks and herds. When, however, he comes to the scientific study of farming, nine-tenths of his attention will be directed to more basic matters: to the preparation of the soil through geologic ages, to the unlocking of its fertility by storm and frost and death, to the ways of plants in extracting their own food from earth and securing their own reproduction. "The earth brings forth fruit of herself." A crop, the scientific farmer knows, is the good fortune of a man who adds a few laborious but still superficial touches to the processes of nature which he slightly affects as to place and circumstance.

The processes of social evolution are as truly natural as those of the earth and sun. The course of civilization has brought forth the ways and terms of human association—custom, the forms of social organization, government, and the visible institutions of religion. The church is indeed not of human origin in the sense that anyone devised it or ultimately controls its forms. No more is the city, that apparently most artificial of products. It too was

not founded by the will of man, but through man's long series of reactions to a virtually accidental aggregation of material goods, tools and mechanical processes in certain parts of the earth and not in others. This is an age of cities, but no one man nor all men together ever set about to have it so. All human labor in the building of cities is incidental to the socially created urban trend.

In like manner Christian devotion, purpose and insight may modify the course of the city's church, but they do not create its major characteristics. The trend of our city civilization either works to reinforce missionary endeavors or else to antagonize and inevitably to defeat them. So far as the city is adversary, it is one with whom to agree quickly before the ultimate penalty is exacted. So far as the city is friend, no more dependable one exists with respect to the upbuilding of the church.

If therefore this book has little to say directly about missions or about methods of church administration and service as such, it is because it deals with more fundamental things, and things equally important for religious leadership to understand.

For, after all, the machinery of church propagation, organized effort, plans, resources, the commissioning of men and the payment of salaries, are mere farming processes within a social order out of which comes the church as a natural growth. These ecclesiastical methods are important and indeed essential to good religious yields from urban civilization; but

they are not the cause of the church-growing process and do not explain why such a crop grows at all in urban soil. A man casts seed in the earth. The seed springs up, he knows not how. He can, however, learn some of the conditions under which it will and will not spring up, and much about the limits within which his own efforts can helpfully affect the process, if he will patiently observe the facts and reflect upon them. This in essence is what this book has tried to do.

H. Paul Douglass

New York
February, 1929

I

THE CITY'S CHURCH

ON a corner of one of the world's most famous streets stands an old brownstone church. At noon on any day in summer one finds an outdoor religious meeting at its side doorstep. As the clock strikes, a choir in cap and gown appears in the doorway. Within, a little cabinet organ gives the key. A woman begins to play on a trumpet:

> Break thou the bread of life, dear Lord, to me,
> As thou didst break the loaves beside the sea. . . .

The trumpet's tones are smooth, sonorous, satisfying. The woman's black-robed figure, trumpet raised aloft, briefly challenges the attention of the speeding traffic. To some the sight or the sound rouses childhood memories. Almost immediately the street yields an audience. It is an oddly assorted one. A tank of the Armored Car Corporation pauses with its load of money, and the two eyes of the guard peer through the aperture through which he will shoot in case of a bandit attack. A taxicab—the driver's registration card says he is Peter Olinsky—draws up at the curb. A coal truck rumbles through without stopping, but the chauffeur turns around to hear. Two Negroes, perched on a wagonload of second-hand furniture, sing the words

as they slow up for traffic. A dozen stenographers and clerks, out for the lunch hour, idle against the palings of the churchyard. Here and there is a woman of the genteel sort; a street-cleaner leans on his broom; two Western Union Telegraph messengers teeter on the curb. Watching from across the street but apart from the crowd stand a score of steel workers from a building under construction. Knots of Hebrew garment workers saunter by listlessly. A tall, expensively dressed man from a hotel near by inspects the novelty. Such is the group which hears the trumpet. On this busy corner of the metropolis a circle of attention is suddenly drawn; within this circle men are subtly conscious of the mood of song and prayer.

This is an old church, founded by the disciplined and steadfast race which settled the city. When they chose this site, it was far uptown in the direction of the open country. The most elegant clubs and restaurants, the theaters and the opera house, were well below it, and the most prosperous people lived in large brownstone houses in the vicinity. No one lives in the vicinity now except transients in hotels. The locality has seen much change, has undergone many phases of evolution. First apartments followed single family houses. Retail business gave way to wholesale business. Now the district as a whole has been absorbed in the manufacturing area; it is a part of the world of coats, dresses and suits, with the realm of furs near at hand.

The side street reveals the well-known marks of an area which has seen better days, and which now waits in a run-down and disheveled state till the pressure of the city shall call it back into more up-to-date uses. Opposite the church is an old building which rents desk space and mail addresses to tenants by the month. This indicates a floating population of business beginners or failures, one which changes every few months. On the first floor is a cigar store, a laundry where a Chinaman irons without looking up, and a stall where an Italian arranges oranges.

Such is the church's neighborhood. Passed daily by thousands who never look at it, the holding by this church of outdoor services for people who do not know its name or its denomination and who will never cross its threshold, is a strange development for an institution of such ancient tradition and essential conservatism. But neither is the inner life of the church and its people anything which Jonathan Edwards could have foretold. Its historic background is a faith which formulated an unemotional creed and a selected group which has tried to walk correctly in the social as well as in the religious sense. Once they were well acquainted with each other and formed a circle of their own. This is no longer true. Their own younger set travels more and more, moving continuously from New York to Europe, to the Adirondacks, to Palm Beach, to Aiken, to Newport. Among those re-

maining at home, differences set children apart from parents and put the church out of favor with the younger generation. In families established by three or four generations of liberal education and careers in business or the professions, there now appears the boy who declines to go to Yale. He is resentful of his expensive Eastern preparatory school and settles into a sullen resistance before the prospect of New Haven. In groping with this problem the parents find the daughter of friends in a similar case; she flatly refuses to make a début, declares that she does not believe in marriage, and says she intends to earn her own living.

Around such differences in thought and outlook between the generations are waged those intense personal conflicts which merge with other conflicts within the church; for example, publicity or no publicity; alliance with organized labor or no alliance; evangelism or religious education; missions or a social center; the ancient creeds or a restatement of doctrine; science or faith.

Under pressure from within and without, this church fairly summarizes the lot of the church in the city. The situations it has to meet are unsolved by precedent. The church consequently hesitates and wavers. It would feel fully at home with pilgrims breaking bread by Galilee, with Bishop Ridley kneeling at the stake "to play the man," or with that pioneering vision which wrote, "One of the next things wee longed for and looked after was

to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust." But in the face of the urgent urban present, the church suffers a strange homesickness; it pines for the past as for its mother country. It is not yet at home over the subway or in the shadow of the skyscraper or in the modern mind. A few adaptations of program, the reasons for which are obvious, are hastily made: business women's noonday lunches, organ recitals, a larger budget for benevolence. Larger changes wait upon longer thought. What one sees is little more than a gesture. The outdoor pulpit itself is not operated by the church, but is lent to a Christian workers' training school. Yet here is a beginning at least of an attempt to put the church's life into the distinctive forms of the modern metropolis. It is because the church wants to be the city's church that the voice of the trumpet soars out above the rush of the city.

A THOUSAND YEARS OF CHANGE

Oh, where are kings and empires now
Of old that went and came?
But, Lord, thy church is praying yet
A thousand years the same.

The only link between that church which was indeed the key to the older world, the light of

medieval cities, is, historically speaking, a thousand years of change.

The sense of its own identity, a persuasion of the continuity of its experience and life, has kept alive a tradition of the church unchanging. Not of city and not of country; alike in cathedral and meeting-house; beneath spire and cross; one with blazing altar or sputtering candle, the silver goblet or the earthen vessels borrowed from the farm home; re-creating for all the atmosphere of the upper room; finding beneath all the rock of ages; the church of God, the same yesterday, today and forever.

But this great assertion must not make the mistake of denying that the church has passed through the profoundest depth of institutional flux. It suffered disintegration in its oldest historic seats. It went away into the wilderness. It followed the great migrations of mankind. It pioneered on four continents. It crossed rivers and climbed mountains which separated it from its past. On the frontier it became crude and undisciplined. Its ancient culture dwindled pitiably. Its education became harsh and narrowly bent on self-perpetuation. It lost touch with the main currents of organized society. Its mood became starkly individualistic, conservative even when it fell into new ecclesiastical forms. In America it found temporary equilibrium as the church of the clearing in the forest, the church of the peaceful village green. Here religious tradition settled down into the forms of the country and

the little town. It absorbed the qualities of civilization as reestablished in these moulds from the day when the population was ninety-five per cent rural.

When at length the feet of the race turned back in great and ever more hurried procession toward the city, it was not that city from which the church had fared forth. It was rather a new city, the monstrous creation of the industrial age. City meant factories and foreigners. The church returned hesitatingly, reluctantly, unused to the city, herself immigrant and alien.

The city which the church found had not found itself. It was and is relatively new, unstabilized, ill regulated. The normal ratio between old and young, like that between the sexes, is distorted, while diverse and antagonistic races and nationalities are accidentally thrown together in close quarters without mutual adjustment. Material facilities are enormously multiplied, especially machinery applying power to the production of goods, to rapid transportation and to human convenience; but their products are not well distributed nor successfully related to human happiness. Population is mobile and transient, and human relations exceedingly numerous but largely casual. Whatever structural consistency or evolutionary trend may be discerned in the processes of city growth, the city as such is rather menacing than comforting to human prospects, and no effort of control has yet remedied the essential general ugliness or prevented the greater

part of newer urban development from being socially planless, impermanent and unsatisfactory.

To the church's mind as moulded by its older experiences and environment, the city is something especially inimical to religion. The very term "city church" subtly suggests worldliness, concessions to wealth and power, the crushing out of early ideals. Consequently, instead of dominating the city, the church now seems dominated by it. The city in turn increasingly dominates the age. The bold and tawdry bride of industry ignores the bride of Christ. She flaunts her symbol higher than the cross, in time of peace higher than the flag.

Yet the singers of the church triumphant have always set it in a city, and composed their songs for "ten thousand times ten thousand" voices: "Rise, crowned with light, imperial Salem, rise"; "Jerusalem the golden"; "Thine ageless walls are bounded with amethyst unpriced." According to this vision, the church ought to illuminate the city and some day possess it inwardly.

Is there any sense in which such an inspiration is even now at least partly true? May one say that the church's changelessness consists in always keeping very close to man's changes? The church has shared man's pilgrimages and adventures, has ever felt his perplexity and errancy, at the same time keeping him in contact with the less changed elements in his own nature, its intimations of divinity uncovered now and again in the crises of his life.

If this be the fact, it is at once the church's glory and dependency. Every day she passes away, and every day she is built again by new peoples of the city. Every day the city itself passes away and is built up by new people. The city engulfs, crowds and harasses man. Man in turn keeps passing the city through his mind and purpose, making it appear as a symbol of his spiritual qualities. Man imposes his mind upon the city, giving the city form. The story of the church in the city is therefore very likely just a chapter in the story of man in the city. Thus it is a record of the church's more or less unwilling incarnation in the modern urban situation, in which the struggle to comprehend and to be of service are the noblest notes.

WHAT THE CITY IS DOING TO MAN

Whether or not one accepts any such comforting religious interpretation of the place of the church in the city, it is obvious from any point of view that clues to the city church are to be found in the characteristics of urban life. The city is doing something to man which is affecting his spirit and consequently his institutions. What are the changes which are coming upon him, and what do they mean for organized faith?

The city Christian must be thrice born. When the miracle of spiritual rebirth accomplishes itself in the city, it is wrought upon a man who is already in the grip of profound processes of renewal and

readaptation. Eyes developed through wide-ranging vision over prairie and ocean are fenced now by the width of the street or by the tenement's eight-foot court. Here is no sun to shine by day nor moon by night. On its proudest thoroughfares the city must keep setting back the upper stories of its buildings, lest the man in the street should never have a chance to walk in the sunlight. The urban struggle becomes one for the ultimate necessities, space, light, air.

It is, for example, the unnoted incident of city life that a woman, head stewardess in a hotel, works for eleven years two stories below the ground level. Thousands of men and women work underground every day in tunnels, subway shops, and basements. Their companion race of erectors, riggers and riveters rides on swaying loads of girders ten, twenty, forty stories at the end of a steel cable. This race sets up forges on the gaunt skeletons of skyscrapers where an eagle's nest could scarcely cling. It hurls red hot rivets through space and catches them from the top of a sixteen-inch beam at two hundred feet in the air. Such incidents have become a part of routine for men who once ploughed fields and cut wheat and herded cattle on a thousand hills. The city exacts corresponding changes in physical and moral structure. In these surroundings, the Christian breasts the wave where it is strongest.

The city is the casting up of new mountain ranges

for civilization. Its fires are not cooled and its volcanos are still in eruption. Because the city man must keep changing with the convulsions of the city, he is not yet a clearly defined type. It is hard to describe him. Popular analysis, however, says that the city man differs from the country man in that his relationships are more impersonal, his evaluations more largely formulated in terms of money, and his ways of living so mechanized that the stuff of his philosophical and religious imagination is modified; he is more highly individualized.

The most adequate expression of these characteristics of the city type is in literature. Take, for example, such a confused and effulgent peroration as Felix Riesenberg's to New York in his novel, *East Side, West Side,* several quotations from which appear throughout this chapter:[1]

"Fireful, alluring, magnetic city of lies. Home of harlots, preachers, princes, janitors and housewives. Sodom, Gomorrah, Babylon, Jerusalem, Kansas City, all in one. Wicked, noisy, rich and cruel. City of fires, of flame, of light, heat and power. . . . Great common barrack of nourishment, filled with garlic, bread, cheese, meats, fruits, fish and tripe. Appetizing city of indigestions. . . . City of great men and women as per the daily papers."

When such a thunderstorm of words races through the body of a city-intoxicated man, how can

[1] By permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company, publishers.

the church base a ministry to him and his electorate on the Twenty-third Psalm?

The city man lives in crowds. They surge up to the very door of his home, up in its elevators from floor to floor, to his very chamber. They thrust even his hours of solitude into smaller and smaller space. An age which has almost annihilated space between continents is unable to stop cutting it away from individuals. The telephone girl who made the first connection between New York and London very likely lived in a room ten feet square. The average urban young person is not able to afford more space than this.

The middle-class couple living in a city apartment in a reasonably desirable neighborhood pays about a hundred dollars a month for living-room, one or two bedrooms, kitchenette and bath; twelve hundred a year, or exactly the sum father got from the sale of the farmhouse and ninety acres of woodland. One of the bedrooms is as dark as the farmhouse shed-chamber; the occupant cannot tell whether it is a pleasant day until he has gone outside to find out.

"City, lyric city, lovely city of millions and millions of tame tenants."

In the old days on the farm the city man never saw hens fight for corn as he now sees men fight for space on trains and trolleys. Once on the street, pressure and risk immediately set in. The morning ride is an hour of acute discomfort. There is crowd-

ing for the elevator, waiting lined up in a crowd in the restaurant for lunch, waiting for a turn at the barber's, at the shoe shiner's; waiting in all wind and weather for the traffic lights to let one cross the street. Crowds for the bargains, for the ball game, for the band concert; impossible crowds for the beaches and the parks. At the end of the day, space filched from car windows and ceilings is placarded with intimations: "Do you know that you are one of eight million using these cars?"

One not only waits at every street corner for traffic. One waits at the library, at the theater box office, at the bank, at the soda fountain, at the dry goods counter, in the doctor's office, in the dentist's office, in business offices. Inside offices and workrooms, the crowd is ranged in solid lines and hollow squares, around counters, at machines. A man will not have a desk by the window or a private office unless he is a person of importance; ordinary desks are in rows, as regular as corn rows and nearly as close, removed from all but artificial light, in an airless room, beset by noise. The city industrial worker stands tier upon tier, in many-storied manufacturing lofts, or perches on his stool and looks out over a solid floor of fellow-workers. It takes eighty acres to make a one-man farm.

Eight hours pass; the hat is put on; the time-clock punched; "So long." The mobs pile on the cars again, the guards wedge the doors shut; the individual is pressed and stepped upon by unknown

bodies. A hulk of fat reeking with onions, clothes smelling of garlic, breaths smelling of liquor; a hold-up man, a detective, a girl wearing violets; all travel and all endure the degradation of inescapable physical contact. Living waters are borne through tunnels under the earth, dark, turgid and incoherent. It is as wild a poem of humanity as any Whitman ever wrote. While the man caught in such crowds endures his enforced waits and seeks mental relief from physical pressure, it is only to have forced images thrust upon his mind. Placards stare, electric signs flash, radio horns bellow. Loudest of all is the newspaper. Rows of headlines smash their way into the focus of attention. The method of mob assault is applied to thoughts. For the most part, these proclamations are insignificant, commonplace or vulgar. But one has no one to talk to—men are strangers to one another in the city—and social life is expressed by reading about other people who are not at hand: Edison has birthday; John D. Rockefeller gives another million; Gene Tunney visits art museum; Babe Ruth gets $70,000 more; college boy pranks; royal baby cuts tooth; well-dressed girl in hospital has aphasia.

At home one may not know the neighbors, but one knows what they are going to have for dinner. People eat and dress without drawing the curtains; either because there must be a little light or air, or because what strangers see means nothing. The city dweller may walk blocks on the avenue every day

and not see a single familiar face. The forty families of an apartment house know nothing of one another except as the dogs or children are sociable, or as the downstairs family complains through the superintendent that there is too much noise overhead. All this tends to make human relationships impersonal. To most of those he meets, the city man is anonymous. Manners, if any survive, are reduced to the most abrupt and absent-minded civility. This is what comes of attempting to have one hundred thousand people live on land which would not support four families under dry-farming conditions, or not more than people a hamlet in the corn belt.

The city mixes and mingles all kinds of people. "City of painters, plasterers, poets, lodgers, loafers, lovers and exterminators. . . . Lips, lips, lips, all shades and sizes. Red caps over black faces and red lips on whitewashed faces. City of teeth, terrible teeth. . . . City of ardent virgins and impotent Galahads. Study the faces of the city."

For variety it shows its Negroes, Jews, Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, Hindus and the others for whom the native American often feels race or color prejudice. It has Germans, Scandinavians, French and Spanish to whom it looks for scholarship or the arts; Russians from whom it expects a ballet; Turks, Armenians and Syrians whom it associates with atrocities and thick coffee; Hawaiians to dance, East Indians to give interviews.

There are girls from the limberlost and boys swinging the lariat. The Wild West will come to its end, if it ever does, in Madison Square Garden. People know of these varied alien elements from riding in open cars, from the papers, from parades, charities, schools, politics, the theater and the concert hall. Add to these forms of variety any extreme, any exaggeration, any marvelous activity, all queer interests or ways of living one can conceive. Here in the city one finds them all.

"Here is a place where there are Columbuses without ships or oceans or continents, where there are a million Isabellas without jewels, and hock shops handy on every avenue. A city of Galileos without telescopes or stars, of Newtons without apple-trees. Catch basin of the failures of the world. The worst charge we can bring against the city is the city. This indictment grows hour by hour."

The city is at odds with nature in that it distorts the due proportion of the sexes and the age groupings of human society. One-third of the rural population consists of young adults, twenty to forty-five years of age. But in the city this age group comprises forty-three per cent of the population. In the country this group has more women than men; in the city more men than women. In brief the city is young and virile. The fight for success on commercial terms is carried on by the strong and the forward-looking. One can go months without seeing

a charming old lady, and one must often walk blocks to find a baby. The hair-dyeing clientele is made up of men and women who for business reasons cannot have gray hair—the dead line for new employees is drawn between thirty and forty. Thus, without the impediments of old age and childhood, and lacking the softening influence of family ties, youth and disciplined maturity forge ahead in the city, with only self to consider. "Self expression" becomes the youthful shibboleth; the commercial idiom is "to clean up" or "to make a killing."

Because city lives are so impersonal and human relations so anonymous, the city comes to depend more and more for the governing and adjustment of contacts on a symbol which all understand—the possession of wealth. Races, classes and types speak with diverse tongues. One has no time to learn to understand another so as to take him for what he is. Therefore it is left for money to talk and to say nearly all that needs saying.

Money tells where one lives. The home address is an economic index. The Social Register deals with definite localities; the charitable agencies with other localities just as definite. Income shuffles people into districts and blocks. Here, apartments, fur coats, silk stockings, cars, beauty parlors, restaurants, are everywhere. There, apartments dwindle from seventeen rooms and eight baths to two and three-room cold-water flats. Fur coats descend from ermine to cat by a similar scale. Ride

past the tenement districts on the elevated and you can see four people sleeping in one room; yet you rarely see cotton stockings or old boots in the street below. All that a man or woman has may be spent to put on "front." From bottom to top of the social scale, people are striving to move into better localities, to have finer clothes, to spend more ostentatious week-ends, to pass from class to class, by the convenient device of pay-as-you-enter.

In such a society, money as the lamp of success greatly dims the lustre of distinction in vocation. Professional men and women, artists, scientists, unusually skilled workmen and housewives, still may have some thrill of creative accomplishment. Outside of these few survivors of the guilds, scarcely anyone gets or can understand a reward which is not expressed in money. This makes every man keen to move himself to a more highly paid occupation, rather than to acquire superior skill in the one where he began.

One of the greatest products of the city is the middleman. The advertisements in metropolitan dailies do not ask for craftsmen. For every request for an electrician, a sign painter, a silk examiner and an electrical engineer, there are two for a collector and tracer, a manager, a public accountant, an employment investigator, and whole columns for salesmen.

"Are you the man? A manufacturing concern wants to meet and employ two hard-hitting, high-

powered salesmen to travel and appoint dealers for a building specialty in a line where there is more than the average sales resistance; he must be seasoned in the selling game, must have sold intangibles or any hard-selling specialties that have met with real sales resistance, overcome such resistance, and closed on the first interview. We will offer him a permanent connection, a satisfactory drawing account, and an opportunity to earn a very substantial income."

Note that this high-powered man does not produce; he sells, and he is offered no cash except a drawing account. Even the very rich man employs the "public relations" agent to "sell" him to the country. Hence the city not made with hands but with tongues.

"Rough city, tough city. . . . Heaven of salesmen, sales talkers, sales shouters, sales boosters, sales executives, salesladies, saleswomen, sales scientists, sales resistance, sales softening, sales campaigns, sales organizations, sales philosophy, sales religion, sales happiness, sales ecstasy, sales singing, sales stories, sales poetry, sales. City of visions, of far, far-flung dreams, of longing, longing."

The city is the most highly mechanized device of man. It is a million machines in one. Little muscular effort controls well-trained mechanical objects. Men push the bed back into the wall when they get up in the morning; push uncertainly to find

things in a closet; push the hall table into the living-room for breakfast; after breakfast stand in the hall pushing the button for the elevator.

"City of cold storage, of anklets, bracelets, wrist watches, solitaires, tiaras. City of imitations. City constantly recruiting from the raw. City which stands at its meals and sits at its labor."

People put a nickel in the slot for a newspaper, gum, stamps, envelopes, candy, coffee, rolls, cake, pie, telephone, and carfare. They plug a switch into the wall to press their clothes, warm their feet, curl their hair and toast their bread. Habit gets the same smooth-working qualities. Lines form at the right. There are people who never forget their gloves, their commutation tickets, and their purses. Runaway horses stop at a traffic signal. On an evening when the streets are being cleared of snow, crowds watch a machine's iron mouth bite up three or four barrelfuls at once and throw it on to a cart. In the morning at the same place they may watch a steel building going up eighteen feet at a time.

The home in both city and suburbs is in advanced stages of mechanization: electricity, gas, elevator, vacuum cleaner, dumb-waiter, garage, electric refrigeration, incinerator, maid service, valet service, restaurant in the house, player piano, phonograph, radio, couch beds, motion picture camera, are only the a, b, c of its progress. The shops display very narrow and tall furniture designed for small rooms —skyscraper furniture; modistes are designing

"kinetic" costumes for the women who live in these spaces; florists recommend cactus instead of sweet peas for the decorations. To an unprecedented degree, mechanical necessities regulate space, locomotion, use of time and personal possessions. The result is smooth faces and nicely turned bodies; clipped shrubs set in boxes, rather than the swamp cypress shaped by the storm.

Mechanization takes still other forms in urban industry. Quantity production condemns men to the dull repetition of a few routine motions. Dishwashers, busboys, hat-check girls, conductors, switchmen, ticket sellers, subway guards and firemen fill uninspired niches within and between the operations of great mechanical systems and processes. The increase of popular education is pushing mechanization farther up; the high school and college graduate meet it in stenography, bookkeeping, accountancy, certain grades of statistics, graphics, and in the routine of advertising and research.

For the city's favored people, money and mechanics set aside the seasons. Spring comes hard upon Christmas, as the shops display lilac frocks and white straw hats. Strawberries redden in January, as the railroads determine. Violets purple all the year from cold storage. Mechanics has had its effect on music. The city has the first hearing of music built upon percussion in which a "ballet mechanique" is played by a mechanical piano, ten

ordinary pianos, electrical bells, airplane propellers, other mechanical devices. After a period of dancing derived from African sources, the young generation is evolving a new phase, half savage and half machine in its motivation. In the vaudeville houses and in little theater groups you can see a man dancing a motif made from the hoisting of a derrick and the jerking of an elevator, or a girl like a "celestial gimlet penetrating nothing at terrific speed."

Finally, mechanics enters the realm of teaching, administration and charity, where they largely determine the lot of the dependent, economically or intellectually, schools, prisons, hospitals, courts, associations for improving the condition of the poor, statistics, graphs, tabulations, tabloids, styles, book clubs, reviews telling what to see, hear, read, and believe, mimeographed letters with the signature stamped on the dotted line. No magic remains. Urban life is filed, indexed, cross-referenced, signed with a red seal.

The city, as a result of its crowding, its mixture, its impersonality, its money viewpoint and mechanization, gives man a new set of impulses and changes his outlook upon life. He acquires the changed standards of conduct which are the bases of his religious shift. These changes affect his rhythmic reaction to his home, his job, his recreation and his loves. The slow and massive response suited to the country or preserved from the refined formalities of

social life of years ago gives place to the short convulsive tempo of the modern city.

In his moral outlook the city man becomes more of an individualist. Religiously the city man inclines to take his clue from the new man-made, man-controlled environment. The ancient religious conceptions born of long contact with nature in her rural expression, with seasons, storms and floods and the play of natural forces as manifest "acts of God," are seriously weakened. When imagination finds God in the city he seems endowed with other qualities and to follow different policies. A more complicated and glowing veil of human achievement intervenes between even the most reverent thinker and the naïve perception of the divine.

All this is typically true of the city even when its outward expressions are not so magnificently metropolitan as those which this chapter has described. New York, even more than Boston, is a state of mind. And the spirit of St. Louis flies faster and farther than any airplane which may be named for it. Indeed the most subtle and pervasive urbanism is the mood and attitude wrought in the greater cities by reason of their physical size, congestion, and pressure upon the human spirit, but imitated by lesser places not subject to anything like the same objective conditions.

The city is man's mind made visible. It sifts knowledge, remakes personality, changes habits, reinterprets the arts, turns curves to straight lines.

It reclaims land, controls birth, cures sickness, delays death. It moves the seasons, turns night into day, reduces time and space. Its voice sings high in air, mistress of the countryside, mistress of war, mistress of civilization. Enlarging mirror of the powers of man, its height is heaven and its depth is hell.

Religion will wish to counsel and to chasten this mood. But is it one to be ignored? Should religion not in some sense incarnate the city's soul and lead it in the search for God, a God of the living, not of the dead?

HAS THE CITY A CHURCH?

Is there anything in religion, as at present exhibited in the city, to match the city itself? Has it a church as bold, a faith as triumphant? The church matches the city at least in its variety. There is lyric quality in the mere roll of its names.

"City of the Book of Life . . . of the bright and morning star, of flaming jasper walls. City building, building for the Coming of the Lord. . . . City of temples, chapels, churches and cathedrals. St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie; Saints Paul, Peter, Simeon, Patrick, Thomas, John and Rita; St. Illuminator's; Mount Neboh; and the Holy Trinity (ghostly city); the numbered Churches of Christ, Scientist; Temple Chab Zadeck; Featherbed Lane; Israel Kalwaria; Church of the Strangers; Congregation Horodenker; Chapel of Our Savior; Shearith Israel; Talmud Torah; Shevet Achem; Temple

Beth-El; Temple Emanu-El; Corpus Christi; Church of the Immaculate Conception; churches, incense, altars, bells, shrines, spires, crosses, stars, ikons."

No nook or corner of the city is without them, and each race and people finds its own.

Again, the church reflects certain obvious external qualities of the city. It plainly bears incidental urban marks. Poor churches rent poor temporary quarters as poor folks do. Powerful churches build skyscrapers on high-priced land and economize space in their architecture. Considerable numbers of churches attempt to furnish places of friendly resort for pent-up tenement populations or street crowds. They multiply the occasions on which they are open, and cater to the homeless and transient. They maintain helpful anonymous ministries, preparing services of the touch-and-go sort for the shifting multitude. They reach out for young people away from home. A very few churches, probably not over ten per cent, have attempted a full and direct application of the ideals of social and religious life to the needs of particular neighborhoods.

But the most frequent city church consists of a group of not more than two hundred people and a poorly paid minister, carrying on the thought and pattern of the rural church. Substitute for the average the greatest church in the greatest city, and what you will have will still be inconspicuous compared with the city's crowning achievements in other lines.

Are these, then, fair and adequate expressions of the place of religion in the modern city? This question will rise once and again as the story of the urban church develops point by point in the succeeding pages. Our first impression is for the negative. The church seems not to match the city. Why? Can it be, on the one hand, that our analysis makes the city out as more distinctive and significant than it really is? Is its average, the average lot of its people, humbler and less highly colored, more like the church in fact? On the other hand, is it possible that the church in the city is largely the reflection of its unreconstructed country people, native and foreign? Thousands dwell in cities who do not mentally or spiritually belong in them. They are not at home in urban civilization; they left the old home after they were too old to change; the children have not yet had time to adjust themselves. Has religion been more faithful in conserving the faith of such folk than in pressing forward with the eager citizens of young cities? Has it something to learn from them as well as something to teach, and might not the church be more fully God's church if it were more completely the city's church—if it changed more as man changes in his urban setting, and were more concerned with interpreting and perfecting the new human and social values which are forming there, under the thought and care of the Eternal?

II

THE PERSISTENCE OF FAITH THROUGH CHANGE

IN some degree most city people cherish a faith. Few got it in the city. Rather they brought it with them when they came, along with their wardrobe trunk, their straw suitcase and bundle, or the furniture in the van, as the case may be.

As fast as they were settled, religious organizations emerged and began to be reoriented in terms of city experiences. In view of the revolutionary upheavals through which city people characteristically have to pass, even the survival of religion is impressive. It maintains itself in cities only because it has enormous power of persistence through change. It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the characteristic cycles of change to which city populations are subjected, and to show their consequences for organized religion.

SOURCES OF CITY POPULATION

Religious faith does not commonly originate in the city, because the human life which peoples it commonly does not. The city imports most of its population from elsewhere. Philadelphia in 1926 boasted of growth by the arrival of a new baby every thirty-one minutes; but meanwhile a new immi-

grant was arriving every twenty-six minutes. In the United States, people living in cities have become half again as numerous as they were in 1900. Every group of six has been increased by three, but only one of the increase was city born. The other two came from the country or from foreign lands. Foreign immigration supplied the greater proportion of the increase between 1900 and 1910, but the chief urban influx has been that of native Americans, both white and Negro. Immigrants from one source or another are still the real makers of American cities. Migration is a spiritual as well as a physical and social fact. The wandering of man on a world scale which began about four hundred years ago was the resultant of many forces. Among these, free access to land was often a more potent incentive than freedom to worship God. Operating within the economic and the religious motive was a quest for romantic satisfaction—essentially a pilgrimage of discovery for human personality. Whenever a man leaves the old country for America, to avoid military service or taxes or to escape the form of government, or because he seeks schools, personal liberty, easy employment and what he regards as wealth, he is really seeking for larger life. Nowadays the goal of this search for larger life is almost inevitably the city. One does not stay there even by accident without learning to feel that the city is the expression of the era. The authentic culture of the old world is dim; the pioneer period is

obliterate; the blood of the world is urban. A new culture, the very newest, is in the making in cities. The city is the West that Horace Greeley advised youth to seek. In it man believes he is conquering time, because he feels nearer the future. More than half of all our American people are in the American city, and more are coming every hour.

CHANGE TO THE CITY

At any social gathering of your city friends, ask how many were born in the city; how many are living now in the house where they were born; where they have to go to find their grandfather's house. The answers will show that the city is the result of the flow of population. The Statue of Liberty lights the foreigner from across seas, and the return trip of the covered wagon runs straight through to the Grand Central station.

The new immigrant stakes in, works, buys and sells, and begins to feed on newly discovered personality—intoxicating personality, something too cheaply won, because its release has suddenly been made easy. The country man rarely has the courage to go back to the soil where it all depends on himself. Here he can put his finger on an electric button and feel that he is making contact with the successes of civilization. To corner the market in screw-drivers or drive competitors out of business is only the next step; and the person who feels matter as a symbol finds renewal easiest of all through

trade. Finally the spirit renews itself in the achievement of other men. To hear Paderewski play, to see Pavlova dance, to buy beauty in the shops or observe it in the shop windows, to be thrilled by the latest skyscraper, is to feed the soul on the life work of others and to renew the self at second hand. The satisfaction that comes from these causes is so deep that half a million farm-born Americans are moving toward them this very year, to say nothing of eager recruits from across the seas.

The American city exists because Charlie Chaplin did not stay in England; Carnegie, Bok and McClure, Caruso, Stransky and McCormick, Samuel Gompers, William Osler, Michael Pupin, Parkes Cadman, Alexander Meiklejohn—all these came here as foreigners. It exists because Henry Ford was not content to live his life in a small town; Edison, Elihu Root, General Pershing, Clarence Darrow, Sherwood Anderson, Glenn Frank—all these were rural, small town or small city emigrants. Immigration, however, is no more a dribbling of individuals. It moves in mass formation. The village, as Ladislas Reymont shows it in his *Peasants,* picks up its iron kettles, scarlet embroidery, earrings, stringed instruments, Yagnas and children, and moves them, simple faith and all, across the water. The nation has been colonized by villages even more significantly than by races and nationalities.

Negroes move in the same way. A man whose

life has been threatened when he attempts to get justice, makes up his mind to try Chicago. His neighbors follow him. In the Alabama lowlands thirty deserted cabins are left with the doors standing open. This hamlet has gone to Detroit because it believed that the cotton boll weevil is a scourge from God.

The story of the changes which befall the immigrant is a coin worn smooth with the telling. *The Promised Land* recedes into *The Melting Pot,* and the residue makes up the *Children of the Tenements. The Making of an American* becomes not one but a group of stories interspersed with tragedies—*Souls of Black Folk,* and *Upstream.* But the immigrant does not have to write in order to tell the revolutionary changes which have befallen him. The Negro merely sends back word, "Here I can stand up"; the foreign peasant mails a steamer ticket or a money order.

Painful and difficult is the process of the immigrant's adaptation. The slums of Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco tell identical stories. Records of courts, police, newspapers, hospitals, protective and charitable agencies, are full of the evidence. The city can hardly train in its colleges enough men and women to fill the new professions of social service made necessary in the process of urbanization.

On levels other than the economic, the wear and tear of adjustment takes its toll. People fall into

the grip of vague and formless fears. Without grasp or method for the problems of the day, they are incessantly cautioning their children to be careful and to do right. They go to much inconvenience standing in line to pay bills, because they are afraid to keep a checking account. Unable to escape bathtubs and electric lights, they talk about the days of ten-cent steak with the calf's liver thrown in without the asking; "those were the days." Now they seldom say, unless asked, that "the car" is a Ford. They fear making a mistake in table manners and social etiquette. At the highest pitch of success they suspect that they are not nearly splendid enough. Meanwhile, in the factory and along the street, loose muscles are tightening; physique is modified; posture and gait are changing in accordance with the city's rhythm. The grandmother will not take her shawl off her head, the mother will not give up low-heeled shoes; but the daughter accomplishes high-heeled shoes both for her feet and for her mind. Thus the great procession passes from land to land, from country to city, from farming to industry, from tradition to freedom.

Consequences for Religion

The newcomers bring with them their particular forms of faith. The only Americans who have not succeeded in this transplanting are Negroes brought over under conditions of slavery. The church is part of the imported social equipment, the furnishing of

the mind and memory. It gets past the immigration office along with the foreign clubs, mutual aid societies, festive days, lodges, coffee houses and restaurants which are set up in the racial colony.

Go back of the gross statistics of immigration, decade by decade, and follow the main trails of the newcomer, race by race, to the particular cities in which he settled. Then study the origins of the churches in those cities. When the immigrant tide is at flood, the new churches are many; when it is low, they are few. When one race predominates, the churches of that race appear; when it recedes, the churches of others. The churches follow exactly the coming of the people. The religious history of any city epitomizes the story of the coming of its constituent population.

All this is intelligible enough as it relates to immigrants of different races and language. But much of the same thing turns out to be true of the rural immigrant, who is now the main external source of the city's growth.

Among all the variety of city churches and denominations and even among those of his own denomination, the country man often fails to find the church that suits him. The preaching is above his head, or nobody speaks to him, or he revolts against rented pews, or the church seems extravagant. It is always building a parish house or adding a salary for a pastor's secretary or begging for far-away missions or colleges. This scale of expenditure

comes as a shock to a person paying for the first time for water and green vegetables, and he feels that even salvation is not free.

More often, indeed, the poorer and more illiterate rural types never get near enough to a city church to discover any of these things in detail. Especially is this true when they migrate by small neighborhood groups. Here in the city these little handfuls of kinsfolk and acquaintances instinctively try to reproduce the very kind of religious life they were accustomed to in the country. They rent a vacant store or set up a tent in an unoccupied lot. Without the strength of organization the group soon disintegrates, and the people severally fall prey to the cruder forms of religion. Seven churches of the Spiritualist, Mormon and Pentecostal sects were concentrated in a single community of rural immigrants in a Middle Western city.

The plantation Negro has identical experiences and behaves in exactly the same way. In the very area where the leading Negro churches of a city are concentrated, dozens and scores of little "store front" religious organizations will spring up, duplicating the very same denominations literally dozens of times. The official church lists of an Eastern city credit it with a hundred Negro churches. An institution dealing with Negroes has counted a hundred and fifty more, groups so feeble, so new and unstable, so transient, that it is hard to find them at all. Yet thousands of newly-come

citizens of great cities have no other available religious institutions than these.

For the availability of a denomination for any given kind of people obviously depends upon its fitting them. Here are little fragments of poor and strange people. The bewildering city frightens them. They want the church to press familiarly around them, to keep them close and safe as a cave would. Or, seized with spiritual panic, they demand that it be even more out of touch with reality and more reactionary theologically than it was back home. To meet their mood it must be narrow, just as, to meet the mood of the college student trying to orient himself in the modern world, it must be broad.

The city obviously needs certain churches located from the point of view of geography; new churches, for example, must be added as the town grows. It must also have churches to match the differences of the units of population. One must be reformed and one orthodox; one rich and one poor; one for town and one for gown; one white, one Negro; one for highbrows, one for down-and-outers. If a language difference is involved, there may be Swedish Lutheran, Danish Lutheran, Norwegian Lutheran, German Lutheran, and so on.

Most of the denominations, at their time of origin in the city, had the justification that they represented actual social differences in population. They reflected the arrival of people of a given class or race,

and were built up by those who felt like one another and different from the city as a whole. Following the Revolutionary War, infant industries began to spring up in what were destined to become the New England cities. They drew ex-soldiers who had been uprooted from the farms, Hessians who were glad not to go home. The churches of the landed aristocracy, simple and unpretentious as they seem today, were too far beyond these unfamiliar folk, among whom the cruder faiths of that age, Methodist and Baptist, first found root. Virtually the same story has been repeated from that day on. Every time a distinctly new element has appeared in the population, it has been unable to use the existing churches; it has brought its own or founded others on a different level and of a different sort.

As a result of this process, the urban Protestant church exists upon all social levels and includes all sorts of people of the races and nationalities with which it has historically associated. In a typical small city it draws one-third of its adherents from the better-to-do, one-third from the middle class, and one-third from the very poor. In larger cities the poorer areas will have just about as many Protestant churches per thousand people as the prosperous ones. But they will be very different churches on the average; less cultured, less costly, with poorer preaching and cruder ideals.

Immigrant peoples bring in the types of churches

which they themselves formerly knew or which match their present moods. Compared with this fundamental process, the deliberate organization of churches and missions by denominational missionary effort is a very secondary one, mainly a keeping up with impulses and movements which originate elsewhere and in the past. To help the new people to have better churches than they otherwise would have is a brotherly and vastly important thing, but it does not explain the city church. The city church expresses the persistence of faith through change. It is a spontaneously transplanted institution strongly marked by its non-urban origins.

The corollary of this is that the city nowhere discloses the phenomenon of mass conversion from one faith to another, or even between denominations. In spite of great religious leakage between generations and the wholesale loss of youth by certain denominations, their relative strength today in any given city closely corresponds to the amount of the city's intake of population of given religious antecedents through the years. Protestantism, on the whole or to any great extent, reaches no group of which it is not the traditional faith. Within such periods as decades or even centuries, the prospects of the several faiths are thus settled more by the trend of immigration than by differences in evangelizing vigor. Almost the only way to get a standard denomination to grow faster than another is to get more of its members to move to town.

The newest laws limiting immigration to quotas admits to the United States Germans, English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh by fifty to sixty thousand people per year. But Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Italy, Russia and Poland each may send only about enough to populate a small town if they should settle down together. In time this will operate greatly to the advantage of Protestantism. It operates now to redistribute Protestants from country to city. But a very large proportion of the newly arriving Protestants are colored. Ask an old-time colored woman if they "get happy" or do any shouting now in her well-known and long established church. She says, "Oh, no; but you can walk round the corner and hear the bushwhackers just come up out of the swamps yelling fit to lift the roof."

This is as it has always been. The latest comer simply repeats the story of every previous pilgrim wave which has been borne cityward. Faith conserves its old forms, tries them out in the city, and changes only as further change impels.

THE TEMPORARY STAND OF OLD CULTURES IN ISOLATION

The first cycle of change which urban religion experiences is that of physical transplanting. The second consists of changes which take place in the habits and thought of immigrants who have settled down to try to maintain their imported faith and particularly to carry it over from one generation to the

next. These are of a subtler sort, even more difficult to understand and meet than the spectacular lifting of millions of people from continent to continent.

Old cultures usually do not survive long, and then only because of isolation. New Orleans has preserved a French quarter since the days when it was planned to kidnap Napoleon from Elba; San Francisco's Chinatown is a city within a city; Tampa is half a city of Cuban cigar-makers who still pay to have Spanish novels read aloud as they work; Los Angeles maintains a solid Mexican settlement. Southern cities have their Negro quarters, mill towns have special settlements for employees. Industrial cities have tenements or decaying two-family houses occupied by groups from Poland or the Ozarks or rural New England. New York has its Ghetto for Jews, its Harlem for Negroes, its German Yorkville, its Little Italy. But here as almost everywhere these segregated areas are shifting; their congestion is thinning out by suburban removals; their inner spirit is being altered most of all.

In Chinatown, for example, one finds very old Chinamen who have never cut off the queue, and women who show flesh-colored hose and colonial pumps below black sateen trousers. On sightseeing tours the tourist, still shuddering over the sight of an octopus hanging in the fish market, is conducted down steep stairs and along dark passages. The entertainment which awaits him at the end of the adventure is staged by two mites of

Chinese girls, nine or ten years old, and dressed in smocked white dresses, blue socks and black pumps. They belong to the third and fourth grades at school, and what is exhibited is their prowess in the fields of geography and literature. They spell at request the name of any city in the United States and locate it in its state, writing "Minneapolis, Minnesota," "Dubuque, Iowa" and "Memphis, Tennessee" upon a blackboard in large round hand. They then discourse about the Capitol at Washington and about Niagara Falls, recite Longfellow and sing "Moonlight and Roses." They have the dark eyes and the shy impassivity of Oriental children, but their piping voices have an authentic waltz rhythm. From how many American parlors has this very melody floated out on a summer night!

The changes that are exhibited by groups so distinctive in language and tradition as the Chinese go on all the time in every other group. The city Italian in the real estate business, with his pale green felt hat, his deferred payments on a sporty roadster, his betting on the Giants and his explanation that he likes it "snappy," belongs quite as much with the gentlemen dissected by Mr. Sinclair Lewis as with his own racial type. In the native American, urbanization sometimes proceeds with terrifying swiftness. Urban universities have quotas of women instructors who remember their days of sod houses in Nebraska, and who have burned corn for fuel. In his Harlems and his South Philadelphias

the adaptable Negro has produced as authentic urban communities as any in America, while the nation's best-established commonplace is that the men occupying luxurious chairs by the window in city clubs once followed the plow and clerked in the country store.

The most comprehensive symbol of inner change which all these externals imply is perhaps the immigrant's clothes. These are the obvious signs of his native culture when he arrives. The attempts to revive the native costume for special occasions, years later, is one of the signs that the old culture is gone. The interval compasses perhaps three generations and contains four steps.

First, the immigrants are sitting in a great railway station among square valises and black oilcloth bags, the woman ample in kerchief and shawl, the children showing red flannel petticoats; all are placid, strong and self-sufficient; they have the confidence of an assured culture, assimilated and understood.

Second, one sees the immigrant woman with a baby waiting in line at the clinic or in the principal's office at school or in the domestic relations court. She has lost the look of those who have kissed the earth; has become uncertain and anxious. Affairs she does not understand are being managed for her by other people. The power of institutionalism is supplanting her tradition.

Third, the adolescent daughter fights to wear knickers, to have a parlor, and to go to the movies

with boys. The son spends his evenings as he pleases and declines to turn in his earnings. The fundamental customs about money and marriage are altering. The habitual use of the mother tongue is already gone. The young people passionately declare that they are Americans, not foreigners.

Fourth, the grandchild walks in the parade on the Fourth of July or dances around the Maypole in the park "in the Serbian national costume," as can be seen from the program.

This child is the first of the family to feel comfortably oriented. Her parents were morally and emotionally paralyzed by the bewildering forces of the home, the school, the streets, the newspapers, the movies and the job. The whole territory of their youth—their teens and twenties—has become like a waste of blackened stumps after a forest fire. The child, however, makes new combinations easily, adding baked beans to black bread, green corn and watermelon to liverwurst and salami, and ice cream cones to big soft bags of foreign cheeses. Buffalo Bill and "The breaking waves dashed high" fit happily into her fancy along with tales of persecution in crossing foreign frontiers. So far as America has arrived, so has she. Our country, for better or worse, is what she is.

Consequences for Religion

The consequences for religion are of many kinds. The reporter who goes out to the suburbs to inter-

view the little band of seven adults and two children who expect the world to end Saturday has to hurry back to cover an assignment in the theatre district where thirty Buddhists are protesting against the use of a statue of Buddha on the stage.

In the newest groups of Protestant immigrants, the situation may be observed in its most elementary form. The immigrant, as has already been noted, is orthodox, or he is emotionally primitive. In the first case he may simply follow, with increasing laxity, the forms of his church; or else, in spite of his personal piety, he may fail to connect religion with the demands of his present life. In the latter case, his wild and boisterous manifestations of religion face still more radically away from the mood of the city. In neither case can his religion easily commend itself to the second generation. His growing young people have long been measuring their parents by the urban standards which they more easily assimilate. The parental advice has not always been adequate, or has given less satisfaction than the advice of friends. There are matters of dress, school, job, amusement and expenditure in which the offspring feels he has profited by doing as he was told not to do. The analogy carries over. He says that religion is "old stuff; lay off it." Foreign-speaking churches are often notably deficient in the quota of young people. According to surveys, groups in which native-born Americans of foreign parentage predominate are less churchgoing

and have fewer pupils in Sunday school than those of either the foreign-born or old American stock.

In brief, those bodies of population which have broken with the religious tradition of their fathers, and at the same time have remained partly segregated geographically and have not fully assimilated the American tradition spiritually, constitute the most irreligious element of the city. They show how hard it is for faith to persist when changes of culture and outlook are added to those of migration from land to land. Analogous conditions with respect to native American immigrants from the country may be suspected, but they are harder to trace because this population is not classified by language, custom or racial segregation.

THE CITY'S OWN CHANGES

The third cycle of change which affects urban religion is that which the city forces upon the people in the course of its own physical evolution.

Only recently has the study of cities succeeded in unraveling the story of the inherent forces which govern their making and their almost equally inevitable unmaking. Cities, it is now recognized, have a natural history which, if they are to grow at all, they must follow through an essentially identical series of stages.

When, for example, one views the growth of cities at their outer margins called suburbs, what one sees looks like progress without qualification or reser-

vation. Here is the new addition cut out from farm lands, a pattern of neat houses with green lawns along clean streets. But what one is really looking at is the expression of a movement running throughout the entire urban community. Expansion at any one point releases or reconfines forces whose changed pressures mean the shifting of foundations through the entire structure. The whole urban organism is so delicately adjusted that its balance is disturbed by radical change anywhere. Particularly does the rapid growth of the city at one point or another indicate acute crowding somewhere.

The structural elements which make up the city are in ceaseless competition for space. Growth, in the sense of increased population, requires more room in which people may live and work. Physical structure predetermines where industry and business have to go. The city's permanent character is established when its railways occupy the waterfront and the entering valleys, when factories locate on lowlands near water powers and railroad sidings, and when the central business district is defined. Into this framework all subsequent elements must fit themselves. When the different activities of the city begin to compete for room, the more deeply rooted crowd out the more shallow and mobile ones. In general, expanding industry and business take the space they need and compel the homes to move. In other words, the residential areas of cities are the least stable. Industry goes where it must. Business,

in the main, has to expand by extensions and radiations from the central business district. The major thoroughfares focus transportation facilities upon such centers, and the forces of concentration rest upon the community like the hand of fate.

As this process works out, the approach of business and industry sends a sense of impending change running ahead of the active demand for space. It tends to inflate the value of land to the point where individual homes can no longer afford to hold it. A speculative spirit takes the place of the permanent and constructive one with relation to property. The mood of surrender to business or industry goes faster and spreads farther than any need for surrender in fact. Areas thus become undesirable for residence long before they are actually desired for business or industry. Soon, however, the more mobile and parasitic industries press out like scouts before an advancing army. There is an infiltration of transient dwellers into older houses. With the suggestion of physical deterioration in an area, conditions inviting its occupancy by vice are subtly created.

The consequences of the ebb and flow of these forces is to create in every rapidly growing city a well marked area of acute deterioration around its center. This blighted zone, deserted by the better population before it has come into the permanent use of the next predetermined phase of its development, is physically run down and socially disorganized.

Property owners will make no repairs in structures which are soon to give way to other uses. The temporary populations inhabiting such structures can have few social ties. Institutions are depleted. Churches remove or die.

Ten families live where one lived originally. Illiterate signs of "Rooms to Let by Week or Month," "Vacancies," hang by doorbells perpetually out of order. Milk bottles and clothes appear on fire escapes. Women hang out of third-floor windows calling down to unkempt little girls wheeling perambulators. Tailors and Chinese laundrymen establish shops on the first floors, and cheap groceries appear on the corners. Signs of dressmakers, midwives, and teachers of the cornet appear at intervals. Dirty and suspicious grey cats emerge to prowl or doze in the sun. The garbage is not regularly collected and the cans have no covers. The streets are littered. To move into such a neighborhood requires no references and no lease. It becomes impossible to clean up after a procession of such tenants; soon the renting space is too dirty for any except the poverty-stricken or those who have something to hide. Quarreling, cooking, and player-pianos go on far into the night. The district becomes notorious in the newspapers.

Into the spaces created by the retreat of "nice people" press populations maintaining a much lower standard of living. The weakness and uncertainty of the older residents, even though they are attached

to their homes and do not wish to move, make them easy victims to the invasion of newcomers. The latter are usually dramatized as pouring in devastating hordes upon an innocent community. Stories of the deliberate depreciation of property by the colonization of Negro families in white neighborhoods may fill the imagination. Such gestures never come to anything except when massive underlying processes of natural segregation have preceded and go on with them. Otherwise they are episodes, and all the processes hitherto described not infrequently take place without the agency of either the foreigner or the Negro.

As the space borrowed by cheaper populations is demanded for its ultimate uses, the temporary slum conditions which may thus be created often remedy themselves. Nevertheless many pocket areas are created where deterioration has permanently affected the demand for property, deterioration so long continued that it precludes better uses or engulfs more land than will ever be used by industry and business.

In the long run, use of land for residential purposes on a highly desirable level is not permanently defeated by the changes outlined, even within the zone of present deterioration. So great are the pull of centralizing forces and the objective advantages of proximity to the center, that homes return to these areas in new guise. By catering to the rich they are able to hold land in competition with other uses, especially by virtue of the economy of building one

house upon another. Thus is erected the apartment house or the residential hotel, close to the city's best business center. It constitutes the most uniquely urban provision for living which exists, the very latest thing in architecture, equipment, decoration and service. "Suites, one room and up." "Try the President Jefferson, the aristocracy of living; the comforts of home and the convenience of the hotel. Dine in the Virginian Cloister or dance in the Palm Room." More and more such compromises between homes and hostelries are erected on the margins of expanding business areas.

As cities grow, sub-centers form and the same processes of concentration, expansion, deterioration, the successive use of space by different structural elements and by populations of different social standards, are repeated about them. By each of these changes, populations equivalent to whole cities full of people are made to move. They may occur two, three or four times in a single urban generation. Ultimately there is a complete sifting of city elements and populations into natural areas relatively homogeneous within, and each with a distinct character. Each business or industry gets its quarter, and each level of population its district, all in logical relation to centers of occupation and congregation. Finally, all are located and relocated, silk with silk, jewelry with jewelry, warmth with warmth, poverty with poverty, dirt with dirt, each foreign race with a Ghetto of its own. Social competition infuses all

with the hope of moving up, while business and industry see to it that they at least move. On the whole, the newer tends to go up and the older to go down. Few urban areas can maintain themselves unchanged for twenty years.

Consequences for Religion

As people move their domicile and move it again under the pressure of these repeated changes, they almost get the habit of removal for its own sake and tend to mill about meaninglessly. A nomad urban type appears, with which the church finds it hard to keep up. The mere normal scattering of a parish constituency through the years ends in landing the majority of a church's constituency far beyond the part of the city with which it began. The church tries to hold them, but less and less successfully. Finally it follows them, moving where the majority is. But not all have moved in the same direction, and of those who have stayed not all can be brought to follow the church into its new location. New churches, as has been shown, appear to fill the gaps caused by removal. But just as the old churches could not satisfy the newer population, so they, the new churches, do not fit the remnant of older population which consequently feels deserted and bereft. Terrible gaps are torn in the loyalty of adherents; horrid losses in transit are experienced, especially as this cycle of change is repeated again and again in a lifetime. All told, it becomes habitual and almost

normal under urban conditions for a church to lose seven members while it is gaining ten, and for one-third of those who are lost simply to disappear. Add this to losses between the old world and the new, and between the generations, and the full measure of the leakage from the church appears. Faith survives. It outlasts change, but at awful cost. The church ultimately reappears virtually everywhere in cities, but with diminished hold upon populations over whom all these waves and billows of change have passed.

THE FINAL URBAN RELIGIOUS SITUATION

As the result of all these processes, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the people of the average American city are attached to the church in definite ways, while from one-fourth to one-third are in no active relation with it. But the difference between the two groups is by no means absolute. The majority of those within the church are but loosely attached to it. The majority of those outside it return to the church in times of crisis.

Within the church, religion centers in the faithful nucleus of from five to seven per cent of the total adherent body who belong to it in numerous ways. They attend services, go to Sunday school, sustain subsidiary organizations, pay disproportionately, and bear official burdens. Beyond these is the more active minority who maintain two or three relations to the church. They belong to it,

attend services somewhat regularly, and subscribe statedly to its support. Next comes the average adherent who attends irregularly and makes no stated financial pledge. Next come those who belong to subsidiary organizations only, to Sunday school or clubs, and who bear only a distant relation to the central interests of the church. Next come transient attendants. Finally come the relatives of these groups, who feel a dangling connection through the family. There may be, beyond these circles, other beneficiaries of the church for which it feels responsible and who regularly look to it for help. This is a true picture of the actively adherent population in its diminishing degrees, of which the ordinarily enumerated church membership is simply a convenient index, not the whole. City churches conspicuously find many such people seeping back into the church, just as they had ebbed away from it. Evangelism largely concerns the processes which renew their interest and reclaim them. Those who are never reclaimed retain some sentimental attitude of possessing or preferring some denominational affiliation. Many more use the church for marriages, funerals, and for help in trouble. Thus they remain adherents of some faith, though literally "unchurched."

The city is thus already the church's city. Most of its people have churches or bring churches, and nearly all the people allow the church to function for them in some degree. The continuous re-crea-

tion of the church on varying levels, and especially out of the lowlier substratum of incoming immigrant population of all sorts, is tremendously impressive evidence of the power of religious tradition and its ability to re-root itself in the city. The ecclesiastical propagation of the church is able and admirable, but not so wonderful as this. Religious faith is a marvelously persistent thing, and urban change, though modifying it, shows no real signs of destroying it.

Yet faith, to justify itself in and to the modern city, must be more than a hardy survival. This brings back the problem with which the first chapter ended. Does all this marvelous persistence constitute the church the city's church in any commanding way? Is the church's adaptation as notable as its survival? The city is not all of one piece. Is the church fitted to the city in all its parts and processes and equally at home in all? Does it match the city in the sense that it has mastered its problems in detail? Beyond surviving, does it run ahead, understanding, interpreting and guiding the spiritual life of men under all the variety of urban manifestation? In trying to answer these questions the next chapters will trace in detail and through typical examples the forms and work of the church in the more distinctive phases of its urban experience.

III

SHARING THE CITY'S PROSPERITY

THE last chapter portrayed the city as the product of stupendous changes, population shifting from continent to continent and from country to urban centers. In introducing vast numbers of people to a new civilization, the city forces them to speed up, in order first to catch up and then forever afterwards to keep up. The necessity of responding to change strains the elasticity of their minds, puts practical difficulties into their lives, and sets stern tests for their faith and their church loyalties. The city treats all the physical aspects, its structure, its equipment of buildings and facilities, its tools and engines, as transient; almost equally so does it treat human relationships. These facts create the acute psychological and moral problems with which the last chapter dealt.

But the mainspring of urban change is growth. There are continually more people and more wealth. These are the essence of what cities call progress. Material things are transient because they are always being torn down or scrapped. This is the price of all those glowing attributes of external civilization of which the city is the climax.

For its most fortunate people the city's changes mean saying good-by to yesterday's accepted com-

forts and moderate luxuries for comforts and luxuries hitherto undreamed—for the palatial apartment house, for the gigantic hotel (which no longer thinks of setting silver dollars in its floors because its rugs are far more costly), for the garden city and the suburban estate. To the great bulk of the population the city has brought more conveniences, more and more varied goods. Even for the vast tenement areas, with their teeming populations of many races and colors, change has meant, in most cities, steady physical improvement marking the upward course of these groups as a whole.

On all levels, the church as an institution measurably shares the city's prosperity. About half of the churches are closely identified with neighborhoods in which people enjoy about the same degree of wealth. Within these areas they draw the great bulk of their adherents from close about them. If their neighborhoods are rich, middle-class, or even if they are poor but rapidly improving, the churches are likely to enjoy corresponding advantages.

Any one of these neighborhood areas may be enjoying favorable change—rapid growth, physical improvements, better standards of living. Here the church finds advantageous conditions to work upon. Hence the favored churches of workingmen's sections as well as of well-to-do areas. Such prosperity is found most often in newer parts of cities, including suburbs, but may also be associated with central residential districts which are in process of

rebuilding with a higher type of improvements.

The churches which draw virtually their whole constituencies from within districts where the people have the same level of income may be called class churches. It is to be noted, however, that the churches do not do the sorting of population; the growth of the city does it by a logic of its own. Churches of ordinary strength cannot help being characterized by the only people who are within their reach. If they turn out to be rich, middle-class or poor people's churches under these circumstances, no praise or blame can attach to them. They merely reflect a situation predetermined by the city, sometimes of prosperity, sometimes of adversity.

Churches which are not narrowly limited to some distinct neighborhood but draw adherents from widely separated areas, sometimes share the exaggerated prosperity of growing urban centers. Change sometimes shifts the underlying structure of cities, but more often it works to emphasize and give increasing prominence and prestige to those focal points on which metropolitan life more and more converges. Here every foot of land increases in value year by year. Here department stores, banks and office buildings compete for strategic locations. Here the city grows tall. And here a limited number of churches find their reputations strengthened and their opportunities enhanced. The whole movement of the city advertises them. Every

face turns toward them every morning, not for piety's sake, but because fifty or a hundred thousand or a million commuters march upon the city's center for work or trade.

Here, then, the acme of the city's power, opulence and magnificence gets religious expression and comes to flower in a very few highly favored churches. These vastly exaggerate the typical prosperity of the fortunate churches; consequently they will have little notice in this book. But even with this omission, the differences within the more fortunate half between the barely prosperous churches and the very prosperous ones are exceedingly great. It is this range of fortunes which affords the real theme of this chapter. For there are many levels on which to say, "My lines have fallen unto me in pleasant places. Yea, I have a goodly heritage." On the other hand, the boundary between prosperity and adversity is not hard and fast. Some churches are prosperous at one point while pressed at others. These varied facts can only be done justice to by a variety of examples.

Taking as its keynote the church enjoying average advantage, the chapter consequently proceeds to describe the chief variations as they slide up and down the scale.

THE CHURCH OF AVERAGE ADVANTAGE

The average church, like the average person, has no story. It imitates history but makes none. It

has no pioneer, no prophet, no martyr. Being under no special pressure, it goes to no extremes, but keeps the even tenor of its way guided by ecclesiastical conservatism.

> Finding, following, keeping, struggling,
> Is He sure to bless?
> Saints, apostles, prophets, martyrs,
> Answer yes.

The event is with God. As for the church, it will follow routine.

Safe and Sane Progress

The case selected for illustration is that of a church which grew up naturally with a part of the city which has been making gradual progress for fifty years. The city has been enlarging, the area improving; there are more people, better houses. The church has expanded by simply keeping step with the city. The parish is compact, covering a neighborhood of industrial and clerical workers. The church has three hundred and fifty members and four hundred and twenty-five pupils in the Sunday school. The latter is well graded, and the former employs systematic records, bookkeeping and budgeting. Everything is well cared for, efficient and right. Church work costs nineteen dollars per person yearly, and benevolences two dollars per person. The church habitually imitates the standard organizations of its denomination for all age and sex

groups. It has the Men's Brotherhood, the Boy Scouts, and the special occasions and music. It sends groups to cheer the Old Ladies' Home; contributes cars to take orphans to picnics; during the war rolled bandages enough to span the sea. Missionary interests are centered on a hospital and social service work in Porto Rico. In its imagination sick children, new conversions, and Americanization mingle with palms, exotic fruits and flowers, and red sunsets over the ocean. The old church building is outgrown and there are plans for a removal to a better site with a modern building and a finer program. This is the result of fifty years of continued progress. This is about what moderate good fortune brings to a city church.

The Really Average Church

A few degrees below this church on the institutional scale is another, not different except in the strength of the current which has borne it forward. It represents nearly the middle case in a total of over a thousand city churches. Originally, twenty-five years ago, it was a rural church, but has been built around by the city's expansion. Its setting is a pleasant residential section. The area is not congested. The people are conservative. Houses were built one by one. Street paving, gas and sewers came slowly. It was twenty-five years before the schoolhouse had to be enlarged. Things have now settled down on a well established level. In this relatively

static situation, characteristic of hundreds of slow-growing urban neighborhoods, conditions favor a traditional type of church.

This church has stayed in the same place ever since its founding, partly a dependable neighborhood institution, partly a piece of still life, human and creedal. The pastor went to school seventeen years before he was ordained, and gets a salary of sixteen hundred dollars. It costs each of the two hundred members about as much per year to keep the church going as it does to buy a new hat or a new pair of shoes. The graded Sunday school has three hundred members, there are Boy Scouts, a Christian Endeavor society and a mission study class—all directed by young people of the church. Lately, however, the city has pressed around the church until a cluster of stores and a movie house have become its neighbors. Without ever moving from the edges of the city, the church has thus come to stand at a minor center. But the church has never been commanding even as a neighborhood institution. The larger proportion of near-by church members has always gone to the great central churches downtown. It is the more commonplace, localized community on which the church draws. A touch which helps to make the situation typical is the recent adoption of plans for remodeling the present plant as a parish house, and for building a new church. Even this belated effort marks the church as a sharer in the city's prosperity, compared

with multitudes of others which share chiefly its difficulties.

Beyond the City Line

A third variation, still within the zone of advantage, is afforded by such dynamic situations as are found in new suburbs.

Such a case originated with the expansion of residential improvements just after the World War. A construction company began to open new tracts of middle-class houses on the edges of an industrial city. The Lincoln Highway had just been finished, a broad main channel of traffic between open fields. Soon great machines were scudding about through these fields, throwing up red clay; Poplar Avenue and Cedar Street appeared in their wake. Little white boxes of houses were nailed together, cars were parked at the end of the streets until asphalt could be laid to cover the mud. A fine red brick schoolhouse with Georgian doors was built on the corner, and before the plaster was dry, seasoned apartment house dwellers who did not know how to fire a furnace or make a lawn owned their first property. Subsequent Sunday mornings saw women planting nasturtiums and men trying to build walks.

Beyond this settlement of little new houses lay a strip of vacant lots buried in tangles of poison ivy and underbrush; and still farther beyond, an Italian colony, a few rough shacks of the squatter's type, near a city dump. The boys from this colony

sometimes wandered through the new neighborhood stealing roses; the men employed for gardening or brickwork charged what was regarded as high wages; it was not possible to get these swarthy foreign women who roamed the fields for dandelions or sat on their porches for hours in the sun, to clean by the day. A sense of class feeling and separateness flamed up between the children of the two groups as they came to mingle in the public school.

The new home owners were bewildered. To their surprise they had settled in a district which required more than the average of charitable aid and showed an excess of juvenile delinquency, illiteracy, and of children of school age at work. Furthermore, their new suburb was forty-five minutes from town by a line of old and uncomfortable buses. There were no movies, no drug stores, no meeting-places, not even a good grocery, and not even the beginnings of community spirit. The main problem before the new and haphazard suburb was to discover itself and to create common institutions on a voluntary basis.

The growth of community interest began with the attempt to force the building company into action about the water in the cellars. It proceeded through the need for cooperative action to save the new lawns from the cross-cuts of the postman, the milkman, and the grocery boy. In such circumstances there was a sincere cordiality toward a movement to start a church. Denominational interest

was secured, the community was studied, a program which would appeal to the neighborhood was planned. The church is now seven years old. It is a strictly neighborhood institution with only about forty members, but boasting a Sunday school of one hundred and sixty-five, women's and men's clubs, and three-quarters of its clientele coming to the week-night as well as the Sunday evening services.

This case well typifies the very modest advantage of the church when it has the simpler suburbs for a field, and well-to-do and careful parents in the denominational extension societies.

The "Old First"

Down around the waterfront or near the original center of any of the older cities, one is likely to find its most distinguished church in the center of its most ancient graveyard. Push aside the ivy and read the names of the first settlers, the signer of the Declaration, the first judge; the myrtle on yonder grave blooms over the wife and babe of the first governor. This is a church with a great tradition. For many years it has never been able to live except in the tradition's shadow. Here a slave saved St. Christopher's; or the Jonathan Edwards of the day won three hundred souls in the Great Revival; or the pathfinders first broke bread and drank wine on this site when they came to the end of the Oregon Trail; or the state wrote its special chapter of the rights of man in 1776 or 1861.

This is the "Old First" church of the city. It has been in the public eye ever since the city was founded. Its pastors have been men of ability, and its opinions have had weight in the mayor's office. It entertained the national convention of its denomination for the memorable meeting which revised the creed. Its Aid Society is older than any bank in the city, centuries older than the city's charity bureau. It is no longer the wealthiest church, but families drive past their neighborhood churches to sit under the memorial tablets sacred to their grandfathers. The total membership is fifteen hundred, but the Sunday school is only half that size. The minister is both pastor and pulpiteer. Little Polish children from the back streets are organized into week-day clubs, perhaps into Sunday school classes. Definite programs of a social, religious and literary nature are to some extent carried on in the local neighborhood. The leadership of Old First is more and more disputed by younger, more vigorous and well-to-do churches. In the main, the Old First answers by hewing to the line; but its consciousness of having to maintain traditional leadership among other churches causes it to try to do what people expect of a leading church. This leads it beyond what it would do of its own conviction and preference. Efforts for approval have somewhat urbanized the old church. But its real interest is in living up to its past, the dignity and prestige of

which hold over as a real advantage into the present. Relatively, however, the church is declining. The acme of its influence was seventy-five years ago. However, it lives on, solid, somewhat complacent, with continued strength and usefulness, a leading church in a very genuine sense.

The Church on Easy Street

Five miles from the center of a Southern city is a magnificent newly developed tract. For a natural setting it chose groves of live oaks and magnolias come to perfection through the years. The houses vary from the very good to the palatial. Here is a settlement of people who made money during the war. It boasts a superb park, a lake for boating, golf links, several private schools, and includes the grounds of an old university. This institution has no separate church or chapel, and students are united with townspeople in a large church combining beauty of plant and equipment with a program of interest for all ages and sexes. The bells of the campanile, the use of photoplays for the evening service, the completed plan in Spanish mission architecture (of which only the first unit has been erected), the organ, the sympathy with youth and with intellectual ideals, and the deep emotional kinship with the Southern past, give real expression to the religious faith of the community. Four-fifths of the members live within a mile of the church.

The budget requires about thirty dollars a year from each. The staff consists of a minister, a woman assistant, and a director of religious education.

What the Left Hand Does

In a city where social distinctions are anciently defined and sharply drawn, it would not be likely that a well-to-do population could come into a territory previously occupied by the poor and assimilate them into its church. But in the largest cities, people sometimes manage to use common institutions without expecting to become closely acquainted. This has happened in the following case.

Between the elegant retail shops and the apartment hotels of a great city are blocks and blocks of fine and substantial brownstone houses. Here maids in trim uniforms dust broad window sills; vases of red roses and old-fashioned statues—wedding presents of years ago—show in winter through expensive lace curtains. Suddenly, for a few blocks only, the district thickens and grows tall; the private houses have given way to vast apartment houses of pale brick. Elegantly dressed women hurry from powerful cars to tea rooms and thé dansants inside. In this district is a great stone church, the doings of which are habitually recorded in the society columns. A red carpet is thrown over the steps; the decorations are smilax and lilies, and the season's débutante walks down the aisle a bride. The photographers wait until the doorway frames the newly

married pair, and the crowd presses to see the orange blossoms and the veil that was the bride's grandmother's.

In the crowd are various grimy and nondescript small boys. The society reporter would be surprised to know that this is their church too. Here they go to Sunday school and Scout meetings. They live in a neighboring district of very ordinary apartments and stores, and the story of the connection is a curious one.

About twenty years ago this church erected a building confessedly for the socially élite who were just colonizing the vicinity. In order to do this it borrowed much of its money from a denominational fund. It furnished notable music and distinguished preaching. At the same moment an older church a few blocks away was under pressure. The coming of the apartment houses had done away with most of its members. It had experienced a steady decline in membership for years. The two congregations were reciting the same creed and were ultimately dependent upon the same denominational headquarters. Denominational advice backed by that effectiveness which accompanies financial assistance forced the merger of the two churches. One group represented average incomes of $7,500 to $12,000 a year, the other incomes of $2,000 or less. This made the situation difficult, and during the first year there was a loss of a hundred and fifty members. After four or five years, however, a certain

stability has been reached. Such a situation often arises when old churches are outclassed by the coming of wealthier people. Exceptional opportunity is mingled here with difficulties of adjustment. Vast resources, increasing population, rapid improvement, stand in tantalizing contrast to the lot of the older inhabitants. They in turn find it hard to live up to the standards with which they are institutionally identified. This is the disadvantage of advantage.

The church has now about five hundred members. Seventy per cent of its program still takes place on Sunday. The pastor has two assistants; the Sunday school by modern measurements is excellent; there is a week-day religious school on Wednesday afternoons, and there are clubs for children and young people; the vesper services are largely attended. Here is the case of the church that ranks midway between a super-church and the average city church. Its competitors are not so much other churches as they are the *Leviathan,* the Palm Beach Special, the Chateau Frontenac and the Rolls Royce; or, for another kind of person, the art museum, the Bach concert, the new German film at the Fine Arts Guild, the walking trip, the country week-end, the fatigue of the working week.

The City in the Country

One of the more favorable localities for a church is the thoroughly established suburb. Here is coun-

try in form but city in fact. Here rural externals modify and disguise a superlatively urban type of living. Here the raw domestic servant can begin to work immediately at the salary earned by the average elementary school teacher. With experience, she can earn more than the average high school teacher.

A young colored girl from a log cabin in the far South comes to one of the better suburbs of a metropolitan city. Her previous experience has been of the crudest kind, sweeping the cabin, making the beds, washing in the yard, cooking cornbread, pork, rice and sweet potatoes; thus she has no assets except obedience, strength, and willingness. The agency places her as a general domestic at a salary of ten dollars a week, her uniforms, a room with bath, whatever menu the family has, every Thursday afternoon and every other Sunday as holiday, and the promise to drive her into town to stay with friends on these days whenever the car is available. In return she will do whatever she is told, except that she is not to be asked to wash clothes or windows or to tend a furnace. Now begins a terrible period of instruction; how not to blow out the electric fuse, how to learn to cook without being able to read, how to telephone, how to tell time, how to dress, how to mend. Literally she learns how to go up and down stairs, a new art for one who has never lived in a two-story house. Of do's and don'ts there is no end. The reward for skip-

ping several generations of experience is that the cash salary soon increases to twenty dollars a week.

This is an economic exploit which the church in that suburb can hardly match in spiritual regeneration. For the values of the community are not habitually expressed in spiritual terms. Economic and esthetic standards express the popular mind. The region is elaborately zoned. Half the editorials in the local paper are about architecture and landscaping. The schools cost more per child than any others in the state. The standard of requirements for the residents is in terms of radios, cars, clothes, clubs, golf, summer vacations, winter trips to the South, camps, colleges, and European travel. The male population consists chiefly of executives, and the most popular morning train to the city leaves at twenty minutes to nine. Just now the pressure of apartment houses invading the suburban setting itself, having by actual count only one child to every four in corresponding private houses, is challenging the character of the community.

What kind of church is supported by such prosperous people? A very beautiful church; a church of only one kind, really, although there are congregations of two of the standard denominations and a group of Christian Scientists meeting temporarily in rented rooms. The buildings were the design of famous architects, the windows are from Tiffany, the choirs march in vestments, the organs are magnificent, highly trained specialists direct

pageantry and religious education. The buildings command desirable sites just off the main boulevard on the edges of clusters of fine homes; the membership may average about one thousand; the cost per member runs to about twenty-five dollars a year, and the benevolences to thirty-five dollars.

Yet in this development and the cultural achievement connected with it, the feebler elements of the community have no part. It is just these select suburbs in which the census finds proportionately more Negroes than in any other Northern communities. For them the suburb does nothing. For living quarters, for amusements, and for a religious fellowship on the level of her comprehension, the servant has to take the bus to the next city large enough to have a rural church.

The Church of the Divided Suburb

If, however, the suburb is not homogeneous, it may retain rural strata in pocketbook and in mind. These strata include outclassed churches which are slowly dying. Fifteen or twenty years ago such a suburb was a self-sufficient little town with one church, a denominational one, attended by all the community. Acquaintance was on a village basis. Personal affairs were gossip's property. Some of the more responsible civic offices were held by people who did not pay an income tax. Houses were the ugly rectangles set in the middle of lawns spotted with hydrangeas. The little community was con-

sidered "up the line" from the city, and there were few trains. However, as the city kept creeping out train service improved, and one spring brought the first commuters. An enormous holding of land on the side of the track opposite the town was rapidly developed by a real estate firm, and new houses in colonial, Norman, and Tudor styles were sold to city folk. This was the Larch Manor section; a private school was achieved, householders drove to the next town for shopping, a community discussion club was formed. There were wealthy Jews among the new residents, and the small-town Yankee was obdurate. A policy of isolation and later of definite enmity grew up. The newcomers never went inside the little church.

On the other side of the track a number of the older residents moved away, and there was an influx of boarders and commuters of the non-churchgoing type. The coal strike made it impossible to heat the church or even the parsonage; the minister's wife fell ill of rheumatic fever; the necessary repairs to the house were put off; a gasoline filling station was put up on the opposite corner; the organist who had played without salary married and moved elsewhere; the minister's salary was in arrears. The church merely dragged on. Meanwhile the newer part of the community built, in delightful setting, a church of distinguished architecture. Children and young people and a few adults began to cross the tracks. The new church has

eventually become known as the church of the community; the original church merely survives.

BEHAVIOR OF CHURCHES IN NEUTRAL SITUATIONS OR SITUATIONS OF DAWNING DISADVANTAGE

It follows from the unsettled and transient character of the city's fortunes from area to area, that the step from prosperity to adversity is often short and swift. Many apparently prosperous churches suddenly find themselves in no better than neutral situations, and begin to feel the chill breath of dawning disadvantage. The beam of circumstance is suddenly tipped against the church in an entirely inevitable fashion. Perhaps the basis of the church's prosperity was too narrow and it could not withstand even the normal shocks of time and change. Perhaps something structural has been eaten away from within, leaving only the shell. Such cases are now to be illustrated.

When bad spots appear in a previously good environment, the church feels the infection immediately. A neighborhood church had had a corner lot of a street of magnificent width. Trolleys moved up and down a grassy center under great trees; asphalt on either side provided one-way traffic; then more trees and spacious grounds stretching away to large houses. These conditions were rudely invaded as the result of reversal of a zoning ordinance. Second-class buildings could now go where only first-class ones had gone before; some

of the old homes were soon sold, and many of those which remained began to take roomers. A filling station and the beginning of corner stores appeared.

An arrow-point of deterioration had begun to penetrate the district. A church blest with a unique history and an exceptional cultural life, developed as an agency of preaching and worship for a superior residential clientele, is confronted peremptorily with the problem of the future. When the situation is reviewed, it is found that though there are seven hundred members, and although newcomers (ignorant of the inner situation) are still bringing letters from all parts of the city, the Sunday school is small and decreasing; there is much old but little young blood in the enterprise; there are no men's organizations; the work habitually dies down almost to nothing for four months in summer because of the vacation habits of the congregation. An intellectual and religious program made for the old situation must be radically revised in the light of the new.

From slight causes which could not jar or tip over a stable church, a seemingly prosperous but really unstable one can be devastated. In a Southern city a few years ago a church of an alien denomination was established by well-to-do Northern colonists. It was a neighborhood church, on an edge of city area which had much of the character of a suburb. The congregation was chiefly of Northern families, not long resident below Mason and Dixon's line. They had joined its membership partly to carry on

their own tradition and partly for fraternity with people of like mind. It was all mild, pleasant, agreeably smooth, and offering the opportunity for family worship and sociability. A retired merchant settled in the neighborhood was the largest supporter; he provided extra music, extra equipment for Scout work and dramatics, paid for repairs and for more than half the pastor's salary. His sudden death turned the tide adversely. The group found itself unable to continue on the same basis; the adjustments, which went on over an extended period, finally made it necessary to pay less pastoral salary, to take a minister of a different type, and to start on a new program.

The beginning of a church's decline sometimes dates from the high tide of the ministries of a famous preacher. When he is gone it is impossible to replace him, and in the effort to repeat the pattern, the church loses the substance.

A church of this kind in a downtown section has been trying since 1900 to live up to the standard of preaching established in the 'nineties by one of the leaders of that generation. As the city grew, the church lost more and more of its members; hotels, shops, clubs, and amusements which had once surrounded it moved farther uptown, and it was left in a wholesale and manufacturing neighborhood with which few of the constituency had contact or associations.

Membership is now just under five hundred.

There is a small endowment, and members come from every residential section of the city. But the Sunday school enrollment is down to seventy. The distance is too great for the children of one-time members, and there are no special facilities for the children of the tenements or the Italian families living over the lofts where artificial flowers, corsets and patent medicines are made. The property includes a beautiful auditorium, but there are no other facilities; little money is given for benevolence; there is no paid worker except the pastor, who was chosen for his ability in the pulpit and whose salary amounts to sixty per cent of the entire church budget. It is still known as Dr. Blank's church, and many a country minister thinks enviously of its pastor, yet what survives is form, not substance. And this is all that is left of a once great religious force in the community.

BEHAVIOR OF PROSPEROUS CHURCHES AS INFLUENCED BY INCIDENTAL FORCES

So far as is pictured in the foregoing cases, there is little evidence of any explicit response on the part of prosperous churches to the distinctive characteristics of the city. Favorable environment does not in itself bring forth anything more than a traditional church. Some churches are large, others opulent, others progressive in securing the best institutional advantages which can be purchased; but not many are strikingly different.

This, of course, is not the whole truth. One of the consequences of prosperity in a minority of cases is its distinctive urban quality. The church manifests the flavor of the city; it bears metropolitan earmarks. In order to explain these exceptions one must consider that while at any given time the majority of city people are either new to the city or have never succeeded in overcoming the limitations of country birth and breeding, there is a minority which has achieved urban status. They are to the city born, or are well broken in by it. Some of these people are in prosperous churches and impress their characteristics upon them.

The most erratic of all adherents to organized religion are probably the single individuals or married couples living in super-excellent hotels and apartments in the downtown district of great cities. Here are people with nothing to worry about financially, the feminine part, at least, with much leisure to command. When there is an interest in the church at all it is a restlessness and a seeking; going to Saint Paul's to hear the Easter music, to the First Presbyterian to hear Dr. Jones preach, to the big Negro Baptist church to hear the spirituals; studying Christian Science a little, inquiring about New Thought and Bahaism, giving money chiefly to the "hundred neediest cases" featured in the press at Christmas time. Sometimes, however, instead of dissipating themselves in running about, people with similar tendencies settle down within churches which

had been previously traditional, and compel their modification. Here, say, is a church on Easy Street, with a comfortable budget and undergoing no external pressure which produces strain. But in it are restless minds. As long as there is no compelling motive for being institutionally aggressive, an ordered and systematized routine is secured in business affairs and services. The margin of energy then goes into experimental channels, novelties and perhaps luxury. Such churches do not have to be always fighting for their institutional lives, and may consequently follow incidental tendencies. Not carried by stern necessity "whither they would not," yet compelled by the urban mood to be on the way to somewhere or other, they are at liberty to pick and choose among theories and interests. In these circumstances the effects of personality, of temperament, of academic or popular ideals and fads, appear on the surface. They rarely mould the whole enterprise, but they give it obvious external character and may account for most of its deliberate phases.

Of manifestations of the church's surplus resources and energies, the most usual is the especially eminent preacher. The institution is neutral in his case; mainly a background; a platform for a personality to parade upon. Here, a man with something—possibly with much—of the prophetic gift, who can draw a capacity audience for morning and evening services, who is sought for denomina-

tional counsel, plagued by the newspapers, pressed by colleges to receive honorary degrees, in some way dwarfs all the other functions of the church. He needs long solitude for reflection and study; he is unable to administer a complex organization at the same time; for the present, however, there is enough money, enough interest, and enough popular approval to carry on.

If, instead of a prophet, the minister is a born executive secretary, the play develops somewhat differently. He sets fire to group activity instead of individual thought, and the church becomes known as a church of causes. These causes compel the taking of positions some of which are ultimately offensive either to liberals or conservatives; eventually there must be the drama of conflict. Such conflict may be the fire which tempers steel, and may fuse the elements into a beautiful whole or melt them into a shapeless mass.

Other forms of church specialization—also the result of a release, by unusual prosperity, of some of the more sophisticated tendencies of urban minds—lead the church to focus upon culture, or upon some extreme theological position, or upon this or that form of religious experiment.

The first is illustrated in the church which builds programs around the birthdays of Savonarola and Spinoza and gives special lectures on the religions of the world. The talk on Mohammedanism is illustrated with tableaux, and the accounts of Greek

civilization need interpretive dancing in the parish house. Other examples may be read on bulletin boards in passing: "What Books to Read," "If Jesus Came to Broadway," "The Psychology of Political Parties," "Psychoanalysis," "Magdalene and Aphrodite."

Other churches in large cities are known chiefly for their fundamentalist or modernist positions. In the experimental group come those churches which are trying to make community adaptation. There may be the functions of worship and preaching carried on in the main church, while an institute or mission does everything ingenuity can devise for a foreign-speaking group; or there may be the attempt to function as a community organization for the Protestantism of the neighborhood. A church of this kind in a Western city has only a membership of one hundred and fifty, but secures sixty per cent more service from each member than is usual in the average city church. Its Sunday school and clubs are really cross-sections of the community. It has equipment, a varied program, specially chosen leadership. The thing it has not is money. The pastor has less salary than the average, the Ladies' Aid has to help meet the running expenses just as if this were a country church. The community idea, however, is apparently vital and temporarily, at least, successful.

All these emphases color activities, but may not force any of the deeper functional changes in the

church. When the truth is told, such specialization often conceals some dawning disadvantage which is uneasily felt but not openly admitted, and which it is sought to overcome by novel ideas rather than by new basic adjustments. Difficulties lying deep in the structure of the organism are concealed by brilliant preaching or some novel position or program or personality. Let these difficulties become acute, and the superficial nature of the solution at once becomes evident. Many of the city's supposedly prosperous churches are in this state. The urban flux does not afford more permanence than this. Urban religious administrators notoriously dislike to admit that there are any really prosperous city churches, and in this sense they are right.

The newer, the more progressive, and the sound churches of the city and suburbs, whether of high class, middle class or working class, have now been presented as examples of the city church's prosperity. Within the group, differing stages of urbanization are more or less clearly reflected. The majority of churches are traditional as to form and activities. Large areas of the city are not congested and not poverty-ridden. Here the rural holdover continues, and average churches following the pattern of the old-time religion have fairly easy lots if their work is carried on with vigor and intelligence.

The ministries of these prosperous churches—worship, religious instruction, the leadership of the

social life of the group, and missions in the sense of raising money to help remote people in need—are worthy and important. By these means religion is handed down from generation to generation. The master crises of life—marriage, birth, the crisis of adolescence, the choice of vocation, sickness, failure of fortune, death—all reveal nature as essentially neither urban nor rural, but simply human. It is at these points that churches, whatever their fortunes or institutional type, are of widest service, through old-fashioned ministries, to the bulk of city populations.

Collectively the churches constitute one of the greatest forces making for the helpful adjustment of people to city life. They are the primary schools of cooperation in urban groups, for strangers and newcomers. The foreigner is helped to pass the barriers of social separation. The transient is bidden hail as well as farewell. People of rural origins—who make up one-half of the membership of the typical city churches—get their urbanization under the protection of Christian fellowship. Many people on many sides of their lives are touched by the church, and in it are welcomed when they return from far wanderings either of the feet or of the spirit. These are no mean values. They make up the bulk of the contribution of the church to the city.

IV

THE CITY CHURCH IN ADVERSITY

THE prophet Isaiah noted a good while ago that nations which had suffered adversity came to have much more dramatic and interesting histories than those which had known only peace and prosperity. Exactly the same thing is true of churches. Virtually all of the striking originality of their urban development has been due to circumstances adverse to their institutional success. It was when they were finding it hard to get new members and more funds that they made the vital adjustments to this or that aspect of urban life, which carried them beyond the traditional pattern and habitual conduct of ecclesiastical organizations. Not all adverse pressure, of course, leads to definite originality or even to any significant modification of the church's ways. When, however, originality is found, it is almost always connected with a story of struggle and of adaptation to conditions which have destroyed many less virile institutions. And in the large, the most direct and obvious marks of a church's urbanization are traceable to the various environmental pressures against which it has had to contend, such as, for example, the removal of its former supporters.

The city is hard upon churches because it is hard

upon a great proportion of its people. Besides suffering the stress and bewilderment of immigrants in the changing city, multitudes within all urban populations are poor. They live in cramped unwholesome quarters, and they inherit a whole brood of social ills which go with these environments. They are not, however, irreligious. They have churches in due proportion, which share the adverse fortunes of the people. At the same time the coming of such under-privileged people to any area of the city brings adversity to the more privileged churches which may have been there before. The poor, as neighbors, drive away the more prosperous former inhabitants and affect older institutions with their own handicaps.

At any given moment the churches of perhaps a third of the population may be under definite environmental pressure. The fortunes of this less fortunate third differ all along the line from those of the most fortunate third; how widely has often been told in terms of precise social measurement. In a fairly typical industrial city the most foreign district has six times as many foreign-born as the least foreign district, and five times as many native-born of foreign and mixed parentage. There are fifty-six times as many Negroes in the district which has the most as in that which has fewest. There is twice as much congestion in the worst district as in the best, eighteen times as much dependency, seventeen times as much illiteracy, and there are about

five times as many children of school age at work. One part of the city is legally restricted to single-family homes which are required to be set back from the street so as to leave large yards, while other parts are dominated by crowded tenements and decrepit buildings of the past, set in the nooks and crannies of industry. Where one of these disadvantages comes the others follow.

Where they coexist, the Protestant church finds it hard to win adherents and to secure necessary support. These basic handicaps confront it in different degrees of intensity. Churches meet such handicaps in different ways and with different attitudes. A wide range of behavior, in other words, results from adverse pressure. To trace this behavior in its most characteristic variety is the object of this chapter.

THE LEVEL OF BARE SURVIVAL

At the bottom of the scale are the city's poorest churches whose genesis has already been explained in Chapter II. The neighborhoods are poor, the people are poor, the church is a poor institution, its ideas are poor stuff. The creation and maintenance of the temple of God here falls to the sad level of the participants. Religiously, they are at home with adversity. Their church is infinitely feeble as a social organization. It is little more than a frail human chain linked by habit and the common need of finding religious compensation and release for the ills of life. In flavor it is highly personal.

Religion lifts above misery, puts its shining armor between man and his environment, gives peace which the world cannot take away. Nothing exceeds the gallantry of these sheer adventures of faith against the whole world, nor the reality of the salvation it brings to those to whom it is given to receive it.

On a cross street not far from a Negro center one finds a new little colored church in a rented store. Last week the building housed a fire sale of drygoods; now a blackboard nailed up by the hand of a wizened little black man announces the Ebenezer Baptist Church. This was the name of a home church on the edge of a small Southern town. The new church has six families from that church, all recent migrants. They live near the business center of this strange new city, in a district which is a catch-all of races, Italians, Jews, Negroes and rural whites, but not the main colony of any. Everything is transient; factories are expanding; homes going; buildings growing taller; the city cutting new streets. In such a locality the morale of all breaks into a mixture of the weakest and worst.

From this background with all its shoddiness, perhaps better than what they have known before, comes this little handful for Sunday service. They represent the lowest grades of labor. There are grandmothers who have to take scrubbing by the day, girls entering household service who do not yet know how to turn off the gas or answer a tele-

phone, men who collect dishes and clean floors in the cheapest restaurants or carry water for bricklayers.

Here is a people pioneering in urban civilization. While supporting themselves and learning new skills, they have to skip a generation or two in all the experiences of life. Everything else seems so different that they want the church to feel the same. The other colored churches seem too magnificent and too highly organized. What they want is the intimacy of the small room, the repetition of "There is a fountain filled with blood," or the patting of the foot and the shout of "Glory." Besides the Sunday morning and evening service for an attendance of not more than eighteen, they have a prayer meeting, the Daughters of Zion Missionary Society, the Rose of Sharon Young People's Society, and the Children's Band. The work is being "developed" by a tall thin dark young man in clerical clothes. He begs money here and there on the plea that the work is a missionary enterprise, and the members beg money for themselves. It costs thirty-two dollars per capita annually to run it on a scale which pays for rent, heat and light, and gives the pastor a salary of about a dollar a day. This is twice the per capita cost of the average white church.

At about the same high rate, a little knot of white rural migrants are sustaining a church in a near-by section, a rural Ghetto. Nevertheless, these are "our own kin and Lincoln's," rural Puritans and

Cavaliers just discovering the city. They have been sweeping in ever since the stopping of the foreign flood. This is a border city. People from adjoining mountain states find themselves neighbors in poverty in long blocks of grey houses, formerly quite magnificent homes. Inside are high ceilings and remnants of style in mantelpieces and great chandeliers; outside on summer evenings men in shirt-sleeves smoke pipes, squatting on stone steps or leaning against handwrought iron balustrades. The mansions have become rookeries. These are tenants who could never get ahead, owners who lost their cabins and little clearings to the money lender. They left the farm because they could not make a living; they cannot make a real living in the city either. Meanwhile they will stay there, and what an adventure to think that they can!

The religious denomination to which these migrants belong is strongly sectarian and comparatively unknown. There is no other church of the kind in the city, and the denomination exists in only a sixth of the cities of over one hundred thousand population in the United States. There is no breadth or wisdom behind the struggling group.

Their little church now has forty-eight members, with fifty children in the Sunday school, two women's organizations, and an employment agency. The last reveals that the church is essentially an immigrant group in search of work. Such agencies are rare except in the greatest institutional churches, and

show a streak of novelty within a very reactionary religious enterprise, born of the desperation of the case. In the summertime this church pitches a tent on a neighboring lot, or strings electric lights under canopies of boughs. The members are trying to shut out the city and to feel again the outdoor breath of the mountains. Here within the sound of two street-car lines and the traveling merry-go-round can be heard the voice which adjures to repentance, the little cabinet organ, and the entreaty of prayer. Just like back home. The pastor of the church gets one hundred dollars per month, and the total additional expenses are four hundred and fifty dollars per year.

Enterprises even less stable than this—really chaotic, intermittent, unstandardized and not belonging to established denominations—are conducted by eccentric and emotional groups. They have no finances, no place of meeting, no plan except that of the hour.

A man who says that he is a prophet appears on the edge of a city and begins to preach from the soapbox stand, always taking the same text: "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." He gathers followers. As time goes on his message increases in definiteness. After a while he fixes "the Day." Women begin to sew, and at the appointed time the group repairs to a near-by hill with their white garments, ready to meet the Lord in the air. The failure of the prophecy does not break up the or-

ganization, which survives in a rented store-front room. Women and men sit on opposite sides of the room; they give testimony; they sing "When the roll is called up yonder I'll be there." At intervals their speech comes under the control of what they call the gift of tongues. A member may go into a trance and see visions, or the preacher will run off into incoherent babble. The ecstatic quality of this faith sometimes attracts members from conventional churches and separates families religiously.

These poor groups are alike in their need for direct and rhythmic emotional expression, in the smallness of their numbers, and in their poverty. The extreme other-worldliness of their theological outlook expresses the familiar method of the mind's escape from misery. So long as they find solace in this direction, no response follows from environmental pressure, and no change in the church. Such churches often die; otherwise they barely get by under city conditions. They may persist on the level of bare survival; but they are too feeble and too alien to respond vitally to the city's demand for a distinctive and indigenous church which is more than a holdover from the past.

METHODS OF RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

At any given moment the deteriorated areas of any city will reveal a quota of stranded churches. They are not so much the churches of the poor as they are the rocks of a religious Gibraltar defending

the ways of a mighty past. Sometimes they have been financially endowed on condition of remaining on one spot forever; sometimes they are churches of old people, psychologically unable to change their habits and only sentimentally loyal; always they are cases of arrested development.

Genteel Decrepitude

In the year that the Civil War closed, a church of the New England white spire pattern was built in the pleasant residential section of an Eastern harbor city. The backers were people who could organize as well as build. The church was among the first erected, and its members were from the "best" families from streets bordered with elms and oaks. In its period of prestige all the prominent people of the city were connected with it. But the city spread in a circle away from the original water-front development. Industry grew expansive and monopolizing. Polish and other Southern European labor settled in the vicinity in order to be near its work. In one generation the neighborhood became Catholic, in another the congregation had moved to a new suburb forty minutes away. The old church remained, however, the only one of its denomination in the city and hence especially tenacious of life. Today Sunday morning services and Sunday school are continued for a membership of about one hundred. They pay thirteen hundred dollars per year for the part time work of a gifted preacher who

devotes most of his time to another profession. The building is kept in good repair, the denominational quota for benevolence is met, and there are no great outward indications of change except a dwindling number of men and boys in membership and meetings.

In a metropolitan area a French Protestant church has passed through a similar experience. A membership which once lived in the old brownstone front houses of the neighborhood or traveled in from a suburb settled by Huguenots has been scattered by incoming business. Houses were pulled down, skyscrapers built, retail stores departed with houses; only wholesale business remained. The church spire was dwarfed between manufacturing lofts filled with Jewish garment workers on week days, oppressively still on Sundays. The founding of the French branch of the Y.W.C.A. with recreational facilities nearer the French neighborhood took care of certain needs of young people, and all organizations of the church have now lapsed except the Sunday services. Of these there are three per week, all conducted in the French language. The congregation survives because of the attachment of old people to the scenes of childhood faith, because of the beauty of the little church, and because of the feeling that the mother tongue is the only natural language of devotion.

When the surroundings change, all the churches which are historic shrines—the church where Wash-

ington worshipped, the site where Patrick Henry stood, Lincoln's pew, the scene of famous gatherings and of historic religious utterances—are sure to face problems arising from the challenge of new times and circumstances on the one hand, and the sacredness of the site and the conservatism of human nature on the other.

The classic example is the Old North Church of Boston, where the lights hung for Paul Revere. It has beauty and architectural distinction, but only sixty-two members and a pastor's salary of twelve hundred dollars per year. This is not infrequently the situation with endowed churches, memorials for this or that, established in the days when the purchasing value of the dollar was many times what it is at present, and now shrunken into mere chapels in the theatrical district or tucked away in foreign quarters. Their voices sound thinly in this day:

> O Paradise, O Paradise,
> The world is growing old;
> Who would not be at rest and free,
> Where love is never cold?

The common characteristic of these churches of whatever kind is that a tough stratum of institutional stubbornness or clannishness, racial or doctrinal or historical, underlies each. The sensitiveness of their present position is somewhat alleviated by the grandeur of their past; but in the face of environmental pressure they remain only half mili-

tant. They have dug in, yet there is no fighting. They may die but may not surrender.

AVOIDING THE CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE

With the first signs of deterioration of neighborhood, the older constituencies of churches begin to move away. If deterioration continues, departures become a landslide. With radical change, desertion is complete except for a few people stranded like the churches themselves. But the average church does not wait on one spot for death by attrition. It either manages to avoid the consequences of adverse change by devices which are now to be illustrated, or else it accepts the consequences and radically adjusts its spirit and program in harmony with them.

The Church on Wheels

The most radical means of avoiding adverse change is to move away. The church itself goes where its people have already gone. This is a most natural performance from one viewpoint. Its successful accomplishment means that the church has passed over into one of the more pronounced phases of prosperity.

To take any other viewpoint, it would be necessary for a congenial and homogeneous group constituting a successful church fellowship, a group reflecting family incomes, say, of from three to fifteen thousand dollars annually, to decide that they ought

to associate themselves with the lot of strange Negroes or foreign immigrants or people from the farms. Instead, the group takes it for granted that its duty is to reproduce its own religious culture for its children and to preserve the social ties and sympathetic interests of its women. In order to accomplish this it searches for an area affording conditions equivalent to those which created the church's original success. In such a locality it resettles and tries to repeat its past. Manifestly this does not express a strongly social mind or a true civic attitude. It is rather a reflection of the individualistic and family basis of rural life, which has followed the church into the urban situation. On the new site there will be a finer building, better preaching, improved religious esthetics, and a more highly organized social life for all ages and sexes. Along with new material facilities will come educational methods inclining toward standardization.

To win this development a church has only to move judiciously in the direction of prosperity, presumably toward the suburbs or, if within the city, to a select and promising neighborhood. Such migrations have actually taken place by scores in city after city until they have worn trails as plain as trade routes from the worst neighborhoods toward the best. Groups of churches have done this three or four times, landing each time as neighbors and rivals in the same area, the area being always the one

that was best in a given generation or decade. Such is the church's most frequent way of escape.

Picking and Choosing

In order to avoid the consequences of changed environment, a church does not, however, have to go away. It can stay and deal only with the people of its own sort who may still remain. Bad areas are not all bad, and going bad does not take place all at once. Patches of good territory survive in a bad environment. In this case the church will probably persuade itself that considerations of psychology, purse or belief prevent it from serving so different a population as the incoming one, which will often be non-Protestant. From sixty thousand to one hundred thousand people may be living within a mile, and if fifteen hundred to two thousand of its own kind can be discovered, a future may be hazarded. Hence this policy remains feasible for a limited number of churches. It has been successful in the case following.

With the development of transit facilities in a great city, an old family church found itself located directly opposite the point at which a main subway was hitched up with a system of steam and electric surface roads serving a million and a half people. Here was built a suburban terminal, through which multitudes surged morning and night on the way to and from work. Around this terminal grew up one of the most important sub-centers of the metropolis,

with business, industry and theatres. Such a strategic site became immensely valuable; and when, during the process of excavation, a corner of the church fell into the subway, many were not slow to take the hint that the church had better sell out and move to a more congenial neighborhood.

But a contrary mind prevailed and the church stayed, not to change itself radically in atmosphere and program but on terms which are easily read in the details of its behavior. Within a semicircle having a half-mile radius, almost no people of the type of its former constituency were left. This entire half of its area the church practically abandoned. Within the other half, it had only to find sixteen hundred suitable people to make a constituency. It found them in two quarters: first, in certain surviving areas of better-grade population—bordering a great park, on the heights above the bay, and along the old residential avenues. While the growth of the city thrust out mile after mile of business streets far beyond these areas into what had once been solidly residential, these backwaters of fine home areas even gathered fresh prestige. Their land values were skyrocketed, and they were increasingly improved with modern apartment houses. The situation was further stabilized by zoning, and the city's structure took a set favorable to their continuance. In and about these areas, in spite of vast general change, churches survive in considerable numbers by drawing selectively on the

right people. Thus this church, while holding on to many of its constituents even after they had moved with the suburban trend, and drawing new ones from a distance by means of the new transit facilities, still found that a full half of its attendance on any Sunday walked to church.

Second, the church found near-by material for constituents in the unmarried young men and women or the childless families who came to live transiently in the old brick houses behind tiny green yards which had formerly characterized the neighborhood. This was a promising constituency, American and of the same economic level to which the rank and file of the old church belonged. Many of them had church letters hidden away. They did not need new methods to win them so much as an aggressive and timely use of old methods. Accordingly, without undertaking any extensive or novel week-day program, with only slight changes of form in church and Sunday school, and by means only of such reinforcements of a conventional ministry as are given by a vested choir and a series of concerts, lectures and pageants, the church has more than held its own, and remains very much the same in its inner character.

The evidence that the church has instinctively selected the elements described from which to build itself, and that it does not constitute a cross-section of the community, is based on other grounds than the merely geographical. It is an old people's

church; the numerous foreign children of the immediate vicinity are scarcely touched. The Sunday school is half adult. Or, if not an old people's church, it is a business woman's church. In the surrounding precincts the census shows a great excess of detached women. As these find their way into the church, they create an institution with a very unusual proportion of members whose relations to it are not through a religious family group. The church no longer consists of parents bringing children, nor of children through whom parents may possibly be reached. The church must shepherd this detached following one by one.

It is to the credit of this church that it has been adaptable enough to include this newer element institutionally. But the two elements move along different lines. The older group maintains the traditional organizations of the denomination. The younger, especially through the great choir, carries on an active social life along accepted lines. Both respond loyally and effectively, but piecemeal, to the aggressive leadership of the pastor. No striking change is exhibited in staff, finances or plant. Most of the older ways, activities and persons are so deeply rooted that the pastor cannot change them. Wisely, he does not try. He ministers sympathetically through the old forms, packs his church from the ranks of the thousands of young people living away from home, draws one-fifth of the church's revenues from them in loose collections, and finds

enough material for a great enterprise without taking into account the total characteristics of the surrounding area, or patterning the church upon the life and needs of the majority of the people.

A Downtown Center and Resort for Remote People

On one of the most valuable central sites of a city of a million people, a church that could very easily have sold out for a million dollars and moved elsewhere resolved to stand its ground downtown and minister to the changing locality. With this as a purpose, the plant was greatly enlarged by the building of a parish house above a block of stores, and there began a ministry to twenty-six hundred enrolled adherents, as well as all those who could be reached as transients. This church takes in members by the hundreds as the tides of the city's central life surge through its doors; it loses members almost as fast. Four out of every five new members bring letters from elsewhere, many coming first as transient strangers. Only half of its morning audience and less than one-fourth of its evening audience is of the church's own denomination. On the average, one-third is not composed of church members at all.

But the transient element is, after all, not the most characteristic, nor numerically the dominant one. The rank and file of the constituency are found scattered in all the better residential areas of the

city. Women, largely those employed in business and industry, constitute a disproportionate fraction of the whole. But this does not mean that there are not multitudes of young men too, and families—families who, though in the minority, are still the core of the church from the standpoint of responsibility and financial support. In the total group, however, children are scarce.

The tie which unites these scattered multitudes is the interesting fellowship of the downtown church. City people, as has been pointed out, have a way of detaching themselves from their family groups even when they have families, as well as from the territorial groups of their neighbors, and of flowing together at centers according to common interests. This church is by no means an aristocratic one. Its adherents are not a set of social climbers attaching themselves to a desirable institution. They are rather a group of downtown-minded folks, having similar tastes and an urge to identify themselves with life at the heart of the city. For some hundreds of people to sift themselves out and find each other is a much more citylike thing to do than merely to fall into the convenient near-by church. In this case the quality which has drawn them is a version of religion which is at once vital, progressive and cultural. There are no extreme novelties of program. Week-day activities are well developed but not stressed. Women's, men's, and young

people's interests are strongly organized, chiefly in familiar ways, through educational classes meeting throughout the year in connection with the mid-week church night, and through organized Sunday school classes. There is a small amount of social service work for the neighborhood. These organizations, together with the public religious services, minister to the normal Christian interests of urbanized people, not to the exceptional needs of the city's poor and alien.

And they are effective. This remote constituency comes as often, stays as long, and is on the average more highly organized, individual for individual, than are the more compact parishes of most churches. There is a large corps of intimately connected members, and the level of responsible participation in work is high. A staff of nine paid workers, carefully specialized and functioning smoothly, conducts the activities of the church under a pastor who is a very strong administrator as well as an inspirational leader. It is symptomatic of the remoteness of the constituency and their lack of cohesion outside of church lines that, considering the combined work of the staff, more hours are spent in clerical work than in any other sort. Correspondence, printed matter, telephoning and bookkeeping have assumed vast proportions in the cultivation of the far-flung following of such churches, and in the administration of their interests by paid experts.

It costs about sixty thousand dollars per year to operate this church, and almost an equal amount is raised for benevolence. To these sums transient audiences contribute ten thousand dollars in loose collections.

Here, then, is the successful perpetuation of the prestige of a central institution when all the old roots have died. It is an enterprise carried out on a scale of commanding bigness and beauty. The church as it has come to be has a stable basis—not the stability of permanence, but that of the limitless supply of mobile urban population, and the instinct of large elements of such population to sort themselves out, according to taste and cultural type, into institutions which are continuously able to renew themselves from the same sources, however much the individual members change. Yet those whom the church draws it succeeds in knitting into a close and effective group life.

Cities need such churches at their centers, because centers are naturally places of convergence from all quarters. Here only can the church express city-wide relationships and reach the peak of city influence and authority. City people are accustomed to travel long distances daily to work, trade, and find amusement. This commuting habit may be successfully applied to religious fellowships. Such ways of meeting adverse change allow the church to survive and to serve in locations otherwise untenable. They do not, however, solve the problem of the

changed locality, nor reach the needs of the new people under the church's very shadow.

Compromise

Human nature being what it is, an actual majority of churches at any given moment will not be found following either of the radical solutions of the problem of adverse environment which have been indicated; they will not have accepted the situation nor will they have found a successful way of avoiding its consequences. Instead they will be shifting about in search of a makeshift solution; moving in several directions at once, taking refuge in a series of compromises, risking temporary expedients.

There is, for example, the possibility of a combined going and selecting. A church decides to move, but only to move a little way. It leaves behind the very worst of conditions of the former site, and uses the money it got for its property in building a great new edifice on a major thoroughfare in the same section of the city. Working along traditional lines, it continues to draw selectively on the old parish, and holds the loyalty of its remote members. This keeps the advantage of the central location and does not break abruptly with the past.

These tactics have been successfully worked numbers of times by leading churches of great cities.

The degree of success depends on the strategic value of the location, as the transit policies of the city develop. A compromising church frequently reveals no clear-cut characterizing situations as the basis of its program. Thus a church in the center of a rapidly growing city, backed by the prestige of a cathedral plant erected at a critical period, takes in many new members without effort from the hordes of clerks and office workers living in the vicinity. The minister happens to be a pulpiteer, and forces himself to become a competent business administrator. With increased resources, distinguished music is secured. The increase in numbers at the Sunday services is enormous. Meanwhile the church holds on fairly well to its scattering family constituency. This is the more possible because of the relative weakness of the outlying residential churches of the denomination. It is also operating a Sunday school for Latin Americans and Chinese, the most accessible foreign populations of the vicinity. The church is thus moving in three directions at once, but has not decided which to stress. The influx of new members is not solidified into the permanent structure. The flood recedes and there is not even adequate machinery to discover where it has gone. It had rolled up as a wave toward the sound of a man's voice, then ebbed away. The church now turns to more aggressive pastoral work which starts the current back again. At no point does it make a

decisive choice as to major policies, or face the full problem of its changing circumstances and the future.

Superficial Solutions

A strong church in an environment which is not going bad too rapidly may muddle along for years without finding any radical and genuine solution of its problem. The average or weak church, under the same degree of adverse pressure, snatches desperately at this and that means of superficial adjustment, only to end in wreck or death.

Here was a family church in a good residential neighborhood which turned better rather than worse, but which substituted high grade apartment houses for many of its homes. As part of the same change, a group of strong churches moved into the district from downtown, bringing central prestige and erecting great plants from the profits of the sale of their former real estate. The older church found itself outclassed by these incoming institutions.

With a membership of over three hundred, the church was down to a Sunday school of eighty. This registered decisively the loss of its grip on the neighborhood. It now undertook to meet the sharpened competition and to save itself by a spurt of energy. In the face of a debt it greatly increased the budget. A new pastor was brought in at a doubled salary. He was given an automobile and

undertook to make three times as many calls as before. The neighboring churches had parish houses with gymnasiums and many activities. Consequently this church arranged recreational facilities in the old Sunday school room, added four or five clubs and activities—sewing, radio, dramatics, Scouting, a music school—and tried to win out by means of activities operated under forced draught and by high pressure work. "Forceful advertising" was resorted to. One of the new organizations bore the fateful designation of Skyrocket Club.

The church has since died. It enjoyed only the temporary safety of a contortionist indulging in strange antics in order to avert a fall. Every large city has a good many such cases of superficial and unsuccessful compromise, churches trying to go in several directions at once, over-extended by the division of their energies, plunging speculatively into activities without a basic hold upon any constituency, and with little relation to fundamental problems.

Separate Constituencies

The third form of compromise is that of building up different constituencies which use the same plant and staff, but have relatively little to do with each other. The situation is illustrated by a very famous church on one of the nation's great thoroughfares in a city of a million people. Only one-fifth of the constituents live anywhere near the

church, which is now in a rooming-house section with the foreign district a little to one side. Children from the side streets and a few young people from the rooming-houses near by make a small following. But it draws two other constituencies from long distances, one of old families long connected with the church. They come four or five miles and from all the choice suburbs. Church life for them is little changed by the presence of neighborhood children, or by the fact that a large third constituency consisting of footloose young people from all over the city flock to the church's recently built community house. Not twenty per cent of the older constituency, says the pastor, ever enters the community house, yet it is alive daily with the club and athletic activities, or the week-day meetings of strongly organized Sunday school classes. These activities include very few of the sons or daughters of the older families. The new activities are for the new people. The older group is proud and satisfied; proud to maintain a church which can draw and serve others, satisfied to come to one service and pay the bills, to let three-fourths of the congregation consist of women, and to have almost no children or young people at morning service. It keeps accounts with the community house as though it were a separate institution, and takes part of its support from money collected for missions.

The young people of the church, in the main, do not come from the families of this older constituency.

The scattered individuals and young families who have been drawn into the newer constituency show their feeling of separateness by sustaining their own philanthropies and running independent programs, quite as though they were clubs utilizing the facilities of a settlement house. They have able leaders and feel competent to conduct their own affairs. If the people who are thus attached to the church only through their own organizations or through the neighborhood children's vacation and Saturday classes and clubs, were set off into a separate church it would still be of more than average size as such organizations go in the city. This large group has no significant part in the original religious program of the church.

The church still has a nucleus of members which maintains contacts with all these constituencies and mediates among them, which shares the interests of all and takes part in their activities. But this core is exceedingly small, about one per cent of the total. The real common denominator of the situation is the staff. A great-hearted and tireless minister is the pastor and personal leader of all groups, and his associate, an able business administrator, keeps the organization functioning as a unit, though its fabric is very loosely woven from diverse strands.

As the older generation, now held by prestige and loyalty, dies off, a change in the church's fortunes is bound to take place. It is therefore wisely raising an endowment, so that the work may go on

when the day of smaller current resources comes. But this change is no more imminent for this church than is an equally serious change for thousands of other churches. In brief, the method of compromise actually works. The older church survives with little change of habit. It has no need of removing to find a following. The newer elements are well served and have strength, initiative and satisfactions of their own. New stakes are driven into the immediate neighborhood, and personality links the whole into an organic unit. This is not a bad kind of church, although no one would deliberately set out to found another just like it.

Branch Churches and Chapels

In final compromise, the church often divides into institutions, the original work being maintained in the old location for a select constituency drawn from a distance, while a near-by branch church serves the newer elements in the neighborhood.

The main brownstone church is opposite a park in the oldest residence section of the city. The pastor is a scholar who spends most of his vacations in Europe. When the assistant pastor was chosen, the committee took pains to secure a candidate with the background of Oxford University. The Sunday services are remote and dignified in form. Their setting is a walnut panelled church interior and stained glass windows. The congregation consists of family groups. The largest attendance is

on Sunday morning. No provision except the Sunday school is made for children.

The church supports, as a regular part of its own budget, a mission called Hope Chapel. The chapel lies within walking distance of the church by cross-town routes. The neighborhood is one of the stagnant pools which one finds within the city's rush. No street cars or buses run to it. The population consists chiefly of factory workers and small-salaried clerks. School children make up most of the attendance at the chapel. The chapel itself is a small dull building painted grey, and the classes are held in its one room. No paid workers are supplied except the associate pastor who conducts the work. The teaching staff consists of women recruited from the main church. Picnics and Thanksgiving and Christmas treats furnish the high lights of the chapel's ministry. Two regular services are held, one on Sunday evenings, popular and evangelical in character, and the week-night prayer meetings. Considerable direct financial aid is given to families known to be in special need. The pastor of the main church does not often visit the mission, and there is no exchange of attendance except when the service is held at the mother church on Children's Day.

All such compromises help to save the church as an institution, to maintain the continuity of its tradition, to keep it in funds, and at the same time to reach some of the needs of the changing city.

READAPTATION

About one church in ten in the larger cities is in the process of deliberate readaptation, guided by a policy of meeting the special needs of the present environment. But even with this minority, all-around success is not very frequent. The church may recognize the need for change, may face issues squarely, may plan a radically new program and still be unable to make it go in entirety as planned. The spirit is willing, the agency weak.

Genuine but One-Sided Success

Thus a venerable church with an old and stately building found itself stranded in a neighborhood which had ceased to be desirable as a place of residence for well-to-do people. The rich men's homes had been cut up into tenements. This made it necessary to appeal for a following to the poorer population which now dominated the neighborhood. The church resisted this necessity as long as possible, but after a decade of discussion, indecision and experiment, it was literally starved into it. Then, rather than die, it threw itself on the mercy of the denomination and became a city mission enterprise under ecclesiastical control. A plan was adopted requiring five times the staff and seven times the money formerly used. This was made possible by a denominational subsidy. The church became a center of evangelism and community service. It desired

to establish special contacts with organized labor. But labor proved suspicious and elusive. Other aspects of the program were too ambitious; some of the clubs and activities failed, partly because the plant built forty years before was not constructed so as to house such a recreational program. There remains, however, a constituency of about seven hundred and fifty, well attended Sunday services, and the programs of sixteen organizations. The appeal is particularly to children and young people, adults constituting forty-seven per cent of the total constituency. There are five hundred Sunday school pupils; there are one hundred and fifty attendants at the morning church service and six hundred at the evening. Over forty per cent of the program has been shifted to week days, and thirty-five per cent of the annual attendance is outside of the services of church and Sunday school. The large evening services are characterized by regular showings of commercial motion pictures, which are made the subject of a preceding sermon. A movie is also shown after the prayer meeting, a service attended by more than three hundred people and notable for old-fashioned participation, vigorous singing, and responsive readings from the screen. Virtually the whole movie audience comes for the preceding religious service, and the entire evening is occupied. The success of this program for children and youth is affirmed by their attendance, and also by the facts that the majority of new members unite by confes-

sion of faith, and that half of them are attracted from a distance.

A second denomination has now federated its church in "the center"; two missions have been administratively associated with it, and an advisory committee of prominent citizens formed to give it prestige and financial support. The field has become the special training school of students from a theological seminary who occupy a week-end residence near by and assist the staff in house to house visitation. Four full-time workers are employed. The total local budget is about thirty thousand dollars annually. But for all this, after eight years the church is only able to feel that it has solved the problem for the children and youth of the community. It has not yet won more than casual and rather impersonal support from the established interests of the neighborhood, nor dealt with the question of how much the district should do financially for itself. The movement is not indigenous and could not maintain itself without a large measure of help from outside.

Building All Around an Old Structure

The next case shows an old downtown church whose organization has come to be so overgrown with new activities that it has gradually changed its structure and inner characteristics. The emerging institution is not what one first thinks of as a church. There are, to be sure, the traditional re-

ligious ministries faithfully carried out, with great dignity and to the accompaniment of noble music. To these, however, the church has added so many new functions that it is no longer comparable to any recognized type of church.

There are nearly fifteen hundred members, and a total constituency three times as numerous. By holding on to its remote old families and at the same time intensively cultivating its neighborhood, the church has maintained an almost normal balance within the sex and age groups of its constituents. But beyond its own large organizations for children and adolescents, its distinctive service is that it has become host to all kinds of community organizations and people whose work it facilitates and guides without conducting it directly. Thus the foreign-speaking people, Russians, Assyrians, Armenians, use the church plant but conduct work for themselves. Of religious movements the evangelical left wing and the extremely high church Catholic Club alike utilize the plant. Of community agencies the Y.W.C.A. and the Scouts are at home in the church for gymnastic work and training courses, and in turn care for some of its recreational functions. A large congregation of deaf mutes worship here under their own pastor. The staff is large and highly specialized, and is looked to for leadership by the many groups using the plant, groups for which the staff has no official responsibility. The training of lay volunteers for service in these mul-

titudinous activities is also carefully provided. Here are distinctive and happy alliances between a church and the wholesome forces of the community which save it from one-sidedness and remote control, and make its readaptation a vital part of social life.

"Mine Own Arm Wrought Salvation"

The final stage of readaptation is found in rare cases of successful evolution on the part of a poor and handicapped group which is rising and making good under the stimulus and opportunity of the city. Their churches were born in poverty and traditionalism; but, essentially upon their own initiative although not without sympathetic help, under their own steam and according to their own genius, they have moved out into a large and distinctive expression of the life of the group concerned. Both foreign-born groups and Negroes afford examples of this kind, churches which are most genuine products of personality and of fine and vital adjustment to environment.

In a certain Northern city a Negro church had John Brown as an attendant in the far-off days when the race constituted an entirely negligible minority in urban communities. As late as 1890 twenty-three members were still praying and singing in a little building on the hill. Now the Negro population has grown as the city grew, yet the influx of migrants has never been so great as to prevent absorption into the new civilization. While the level

of wealth is not high, there is a general standard of comfort. Domestic servants whose parents lived precariously now walk to work in fur coats or drive in cars, and their children go to high school. Every member of the family is working or going to school; good cooking, white tablecloths, easy chairs and radios are available for all at home. The church embodies the qualities of beauty, dignity and simplicity. Its vested choir sings the best of modern music and at the same time keeps sensitive pride in the race's own spirituals. The church is strongly developed on the instructional side, with up-to-date religious education under professional leadership and the character-forming activities of manual arts broadly carried out. The church also takes an active interest in economic success and in recreation. Rooms are open for women daily; here they can study the domestic arts, play in the gymnasium, sing in the choir, work in the clubs, get a job through the employment bureau, and live in the working-girls' home. Children can go to the music school, the clubs, the Sunday school, or in the summer to the church outing farm. Young men enjoy their own clubhouse. Twenty-eight families are housed in tenements belonging to the church. There is charitable relief for the very poor.

In short, the church has identified itself with the Negro community in all directions. All these activities were developed and made successful by people of moderate means under exceptional leader-

ship. They now operate through a paid staff of eight full-time workers. The annual cost is more than twenty thousand dollars. The institutional activities have now been separately incorporated, and are managed by a joint board of colored and white citizens without regard to denominational affiliation.

ORIGINAL ADAPTATION

Few churches start by making a definite adaptation to a given environment. This would require an understanding of the conditions first, and this the church generally finds too difficult.

Occasionally, however, a church deliberately enters a hard situation with a type of ministry specifically designed from the first to meet its needs, and proceeds to carry out such part of its ideals as survive the test of applicability. A good many changes in the original plan will obviously be required; yet in essence this method yields a made-to-order church, not an evolution.

The Church Plus

A church of this sort which has now a thousand members and serves two hundred thousand people during the average year, is located in the poorest section of one of our largest cities. Its activities involve over two hundred meetings and classes per week, and range from a day nursery for babies to a home for the aged, with activities or services for

every age between. The original population of the neighborhood was Irish, followed by an immigrant wave of Germans and Swedes. Now, however, the dominant races are Italian, Hungarian, Austrian and Polish, with not a few Negroes. But there has been no fusion in a melting-pot. The different races and remnants live on separately. The church serves them through many small organizations, most of which are not closely linked with the central interests of the church.

The enterprise was founded thirty-five years ago under the fostering care of a theological seminary. It began among a huddle of poor people, remnants of several races, who lived in small wooden houses with basements below the street level. It developed slowly for about twenty years under denominational care, then became administratively independent though without endowment. The budget has to be raised over and over, year after year. The beneficiaries have never paid more than a very slight fraction of the expense; the community leans on the enterprise but has not become financially responsible in any significant measure.

Two churches, English and Italian, carry on the religious work, which, however, only takes a quarter of the budget now totaling seventy-five thousand dollars. On the other hand, the week-day program covers sixty-nine per cent of the total as measured by attendance. The work is partly educational and partly relief. The settlement house has fifteen clubs

for girls; there is a notable music school employing twelve teachers and developing the culture of the older racial elements; there are a kindergarten, a library, an outing camp, a playground, and a week-day church service for children before the opening of the public school in the morning. Children and youth are chiefly served by the program, and families make up about eighty-six per cent of the constituency. There are more men than women in the total attendance. However, less than half the regular clientele belongs either to the church or the Sunday school. A clinic serves ten thousand patients a year; a sickness and death benefit association takes care of need in these directions; an advice and aid division is maintained to deal with personal problems. The finances of the enterprise are promoted by a department of publicity. The staff consists of thirty-seven highly specialized people, not very well paid and for the most part not living in the neighborhood. This institution is recognized among important social agencies of the city, and wins the bulk of its support from the philanthropic public as an established community enterprise of social welfare in which the religious element has become somewhat incidental.

Service Beyond Church Forms

There is a stage even beyond such an enterprise, and that is the stage where the church has entirely dropped out, leaving only the social service work of

a Christian settlement. In the course of time the traditional characteristics of a church may come to be so secondary and so overlaid with other activities that the question arises inevitably, "Why call it a church at all?" In a Western city, for example, an organization for the service of the Mexican people names itself a Christian center. It is confessedly an agency of social welfare, with only incidental religious activities such as will not frighten away a Catholic constituency—clubs for young women and young men, manual training classes for adolescents, a vacation Bible school, a kindergarten, classes in religious education, and a woman's society. The modern plant is located at the heart of the Mexican quarter, and the neighborhood social work commands a large attendance. The originators of the project felt that conditions were too adverse for the success of a Protestant mission as such. They honestly wished to help this foreign-speaking group in their adjustment to all sides of American life; hence the classes in English, home activities and child welfare, the clinic and the visiting nurses. They wanted to avoid the handicap of a sectarian organization; hence the Christian center which has never been a church and possibly never will be, though unquestionably the second generation of those so benefited may be expected to be accessible to direct religious approach as their fathers are not.

In such ways the city compels the church to patience, to serving for a far-distant harvest, to long-

time vision, and to policies which will mature only in the remote future.

CONCLUSION

The story of the city church in adversity begins with churches born to poverty, too feeble to resist the city's power, too inelastic to change, yet clinging to life on the level of bare survival, as though beneath the attention of the evolutionary forces which challenge the church to conform or die.

There follows the stage of resistant churches, bulwarked in various accidental or extraneous ways, or psychically insensitive to the city's pressure. Then come the churches practising various forms of avoidance and compromise, and these get around the adverse situation in devious ways. They concede as little as possible; change partially; muddle along rather than meet conditions by clear-cut decisions. All this avoidance and compromise is in glaring contrast with the acceptance of conditions and deliberate adaptation by a small minority. But even deliberate adaptation rarely escapes one-sidedness, since it leaves an unreconstructed ecclesiastical center overlaid by loosely related agencies of service. Only in the rarest instance does the church build itself up as the mirror of the community or foresee its mission so that it can mould itself for its task.

All this signifies that the church is highly traditional, inclined to repeat old patterns, not likely to modify greatly except under pressure and then

no more than it must. And this is not strange, nor of necessity wrong. Of a growing fraction of the city's churches the city's pressure is stern enough to exact such changes as have been described. The turn of many others will come later. The city is testing and to a considerable extent is remaking the church through the adversity it has brought upon it. The modification which the church is undergoing is still partially confined within narrow limits, and may be so confined for a long time. But the tendency is established.

V

THE URBAN CHURCH AND ITS ALLIES

BEYOND the fourteen thousand local Protestant churches in the largest cities, of which this book has now presented about forty samples, spreads the vast realm of the church's extensions and alliances. Not only are the churches of many sorts, but the city has developed an extensive network of organizations performing common services for groups of churches or ministering in their behalf to peoples and needs beyond the ordinary scope of the local church's methods and activities; for example, minister's alliances, city mission and extension societies, women's missionary unions, young people's unions, seven or eight kinds in all for the churches of a typically developed denomination. Besides these, a fairly strong denomination will have its children's house, its old people's home, some temporary home for strangers, and some agency of relief for the poor, as well as schools of various grades. One must not forget also the multiplicity of administrative offices and mission boards, district, state and national, concentrated in cities, nor the great variety of ecclesiastical publications. It is through these that the church at large is conducted and extended. Although not limited to nor existing for the cities, they greatly add to the complexity

of the ecclesiastical situation there, as well as to its interest and strength.

The only real key to an understanding of these varied phenomena of the church is familiarity with an adequate number and range of representative cases. Mere generalization still leaves one without an authentic sense of the situation. Accordingly no apology is offered for the plan of devoting virtually a fourth of this book, the last two chapters, to the description of a series of examples. These examples are believed to cover the most characteristic situations in which the urban church finds itself. Some of these situations were institutionally advantageous; they afforded good ground for the church to grow in. But the external circumstances varied. Sometimes the church was young, sometimes it was old. It might be centrally located, residential or suburban. Relatively favoring conditions were found at all social levels. When exceptional numbers or wealth prevailed, the church tended to put on a certain elaborateness of organization, to lead a richer life, institutionally speaking. Not being ground down to the roots of bare necessity, it could exercise options and respond to the general ideas of the age.

The ill-circumstanced churches, on the contrary, generally bore in more startling fashion the marks of struggle. In the stress of effort to survive they had changed themselves more radically in structure and had taken on novel functions in greater or less

degree. This changed character becomes evident when one examines a series of city churches case by case. The reader will do well to list all the additional cases with which he is familiar, trying to find the characterizing element which explains each. He should also catalogue all the ecclesiastical agencies of his community in which the church has come beyond the parochial form. He will then be still further impressed with the variety and complexity of the facts comprehended by the word church, and will feel the need, first, of a further method of classification of individual churches which shall if possible account for and suggest the explanation of them all; and second, of some clue to the perplexing array of extensions and allies by which the church has so greatly enlarged itself.

CHURCHES CLASSIFIED

From the standpoint of the previous discussion, it is natural to look for a clue to the classification of the church in the varying characters of the people who constitute it, particularly in their unequal degrees of urbanization and adjustment to the city and its ways and genius.

The first step toward such a classification is to locate the most representative church and group of churches; that is to say, the sort occurring with greatest frequency in American cities. Comprehensive studies of churches in typical cities, large and small, and a wide sampling from many cities, de-

nominations and sections, have identified this most representative city church with such churches as were presented on pages 58 and 59 in Chapter III. There are more churches like them than of any other sort.

The Typical Church

The typical urban church is an exceedingly modest institution in view of the bigness of the city. It has some two hundred members. It is a middle-aged institution which used to be farther downtown and which in more than half the number of cases has occupied its present location less than twenty-five years. With respect to leadership, it is a one-man enterprise, managed by a single paid minister, a man with a college and theological education and some twenty years' experience in the ministry, whom it keeps from two to five years before exchanging for another like him.

Everyone knows this minister, a busy, studious and reserved person. He does not get salary enough to pay an income tax; he does not have a home, except as he moves books and household goods from parsonage to parsonage in successive pastorates. He works nine hours a day for a seven-day week, at an odd mixture of eight or nine kinds of work, some of which have to be done every day. About a quarter of his time is spent shut up in his study, making sermons, and half as much more in the conduct of religious services and the teaching or supervision of Sunday school. Managing church

business takes another quarter of his time. A fraction more goes to attendance at religious and civic meetings. Half his pastoral work deals with sorrow and difficulty. In the other half he is in his most expansive mood, making calls, going to dinners, entertaining guests, doing for strangers the civilities other people neglect, listening to the dreams of young people. As the director of a one-man job he is harassed by janitorial and clerical duties in and out of season.

As a high school graduate who has gone to college or to the theological seminary, he shows such results of education as fondness for reading, some interest in social issues, the habit of preferring the better things in the world of culture and ideals. Thanks to his small income he has to resort to rather miserable economies behind the scenes in order to present a smooth front to the world. As a priest he is withdrawn at intervals from the world and invested with dignity and mystery, opening and closing the doors of the church, giving the sacraments, burying the dead. On the whole he is a man who is something of an artist in his habit of work, a moderate enough man with no extraordinary worldly ambition, no savings, no ultimate prospect except retirement upon the small pension of his denomination.

The program of this man's church includes the usual arc of traditional religious work as illustrated by the minister's task from day to day; that is to

say, preaching, the Sunday school, probably two women's organizations, a young people's society and a choir, together with a selection of three or four additional activities within a conventionally established range. (In the example given, these additions consisted of a Junior Christian Endeavor, a mission study class, and a group of Boy Scouts.)

The minister's salary is likely to fall between $1,000 and $2,000 (it was $1,600 in the sample instance), with a parsonage added in about one-third of the cases. The total budget for current support will probably be from $3,000 to $4,000, or about eighteen dollars per member, while twelve dollars more per member will be given to benevolence. The value of the church plant will average in the neighborhood of $40,000. It will contain from five to nine rooms, seat four hundred people, and have equipment facilities limited to six or eight items. The Sunday school will have an enrollment of about two hundred. It will be chiefly a children's institution.

This typical church is likely to be found in a residential district, surrounded by a compact parish. It may be found, however, at city centers, where churches of resistant type continue to maintain themselves little changed in spite of adverse environment, or where people come from long distances, drawn by ties of race or by theological or sectarian loyalty.[1]

[1] See page 76.

If one groups with such typical churches those of like size and development which are under moderate pressure from environment, one finds a slight variation from pattern in the direction of novelty. If one adds those churches which are under moderately favored circumstances, there will be included a somewhat larger or more opulent type, spending more money on budget, plant and equipment, sometimes with a staff of two or three workers, all within the range of service set by the weaker subtype.

Grouping together the kind of church most frequently found with those kinds which vary a little by reason of slight advantage or slight adversity, one is able to block out the limits of the fairly representative type, the average city church in the larger sense, the institution which, in justice to fact, one should have in mind when he says the words, the city church. It is a less commanding institution than the church of the imagination or of denominational promotional literature. To discover and admit this is the first step toward honesty and dependability in any attempt toward understanding or improving the situation.

CLASSIFICATION RELATIVE TO THE AVERAGE

The next steps in the classification of churches simply ı ıllow out the distinctions which are habitually applied to human beings. The reader thinks of himself as an above average person compared

with the run of his acquaintances. He meets plenty of people whom he labels as distinctly below average, while at the other extreme he envies the class admittedly above himself in brains, achievement and wealth. At the very top there are the few favorites of fortune. Besides these four classes there is a fifth, that of geniuses and fools—men so exceptional that they do not fit into ordinary classifications, about whom it is hard to decide whether they are superior or inferior.

This classification may be applied to churches by mentally arranging as many as one knows of the fourteen thousand with respect to the average church. Below it are placed those with smaller numbers and resources and less extensive and diversified programs. Next above it are placed the larger and more developed churches with broader programs and more extensive facilities. Above them in turn come examples of the extremes of churches, the largest, wealthiest and best equipped, and particularly those with widest range of functions and greatest variety of program. An obvious consequence of such development is the size, variety and specialized function of the paid staff. Finally, outside of the direct line of development are found the erratic churches.

This process finally yields five types of urban churches: (1) the typical group; (2) the underdeveloped or less than average group; (3) the elaborated or more than average group; (4) the

socially adapted group showing the extreme of high development; (5) the erratic group.

The first type, the average church, has already been described. It is the work of the following pages to describe the others, to show what characterizing situations are likely to sort a church into one or another, and to explain in large general terms how each type came to be and what each means in the evolution of the city church as a whole.

The Less Than Average Church

Within the case studies previously presented, it is easy to pick out the typical churches of Negroes, rural immigrants, and the emotional sects as falling within this sub-modal group. With these go stranded churches which have seen better days; also certain racially clannish, theologically narrow or ultra-conservative churches whose alien traits or rigid characteristics prevent their falling into step with the majority. Finally there are young churches which are only fragments of what they soon hope to be, though it is doubtful whether the standard denominations should or need allow such premature enterprises to be born within their households.

Under all these circumstances what is called a church will exhibit a narrower range of activities, perform a smaller number of functions, and constitute a less significant community enterprise and a generally feebler institution than does the average church in the city. The program shrinks to the

performance of the most conventional services, with none more novel than the occasional Scout troop, men's organization, or mission study class. Membership and Sunday school are smaller than those of the average group, but the Sunday school bulks larger relative to the size of the church and is chiefly made up of young children. Though including numerous examples of churches suffering from the decrepitude of age, the underdeveloped church averages younger than the typical church. It is even more a one-man enterprise than the typical church, though occasionally a church will be narrow through stubbornness rather than through weakness, and employ as many as two or three workers to carry on a narrowly traditional program. The minister is younger, and less experienced, less educated and less permanent than the minister of the average church; his pay also is less. Budgets are half as large per capita; giving is one-third less; property is worth only half as much. The palms and Easter lilies on the oaken altar of the average church shrink here to the red geranium and the handful of yellow nasturtiums on the pine desk.

While the underdeveloped church sometimes draws its peculiar constituency from a considerable distance, it has, on the average, no ground for more than local appeal. Except in the case of stranded churches in deteriorated areas surrounding central business sections of cities, it cannot command central locations. It is ordinarily a poor-folks church,

rarely found in the more expensive neighborhoods. Finally, the type is more characteristic of the smaller cities, and of the smaller, more peculiar and younger sects rather than of the well established standard denominations.

Such churches may mean much for their people. They cannot, however, render them a normal variety and range of service, and much of their work is sub-standard in quality. For the community as a whole they are not the dependable and relatively substantial organizations which even the average city church has come to be. How terribly transient and unstable their institutional life may be, the case studies have revealed. The feeblest literally live from hand to mouth, economically speaking, and scarcely live at all between the waves of emotional stress which throw them up and let them ebb again like the flotsam of the shore. And if all the least substantial and most embryonic cases in cities are combined, there may be almost as many if not quite as many churches of this less than average type as there are average type churches. With such "weak things of this world" as these institutional resources, religion is confronting the dynamic challenge of present-day civilization.

The More Than Average Church

Standing above the average group of churches is a type which is distinctly more than average as a

social institution. These have been termed elaborated churches, because while their program and range of activities are pronouncedly more inclusive and more novel than those of the average church, they are arrived at rather by the elaboration of principles already implicit than by the adoption of exceptional or revolutionary principles. More than average wealth coupled with progressive ideas is likely to cause evolution along these lines. Adverse pressure, pronounced but not extreme, is likely to force a church into elaboration of program, especially when it is under the necessity of drawing and holding a distant constituency, a condition much more frequent than in the case of either the average or the less than average church.

The characteristic magnitudes of such a church are: members, from 500 to 1,000; value of plant, $120,400; budget, $5,000 to $10,000; Sunday school enrollment, 400; paid workers on staff, 3. The minister is a highly educated man in the prime of life working at a salary of perhaps $4,000. His secretary and a district visitor are likely to be the first additional staff members, though if the number reaches four or five, as is frequent with these churches, an assistant pastor and a director of religious education or recreation may also be expected. This more than average church is older than the average, and if residentially located has probably found its present desirable site through a process

of repeated removals. It probably belongs to one of the well established denominations of America. It is proportionately more frequent in the larger cities.

Members and adherents of a church like this are offered a more all-around ministry in the name of Christ, with the cultural and social and recreational aspects more largely stressed than in the average church, and with careful grading of activities according to the needs and capacities of the several age and sex groups. There tends to be an expressional program as well as a devotional and institutional one for men, women, young men, young women, boys, girls and young children, highly organized and ably maintained. Such a development falls in with present-day ideals of religious education. It represents specialization with which the city is familiar, in contrast with the simple and less differentiated program and methods of the traditional church. The city's prosperous classes want the best and feel able to pay for it. Hence they enrich their church life with what money can buy and experts perform.

The community which possesses such a church feels the presence of a many-sided social institution approximating more nearly than does the average church to the urban scale as to size, facilities and expenditures, often characterized also by a more definitely urban outlook and spirit, and frequented by the more distinctively urban types of population.

This is particularly seen in the cases cited on pages 63 and 65.

The Socially Adapted Church

This type is institutionally the most highly developed of all. It departs most radically from tradition. It exists as a definite response to the social need of the unassimilated or handicapped populations of the city, and expresses a definite purpose to adapt an ecclesiastical agency and program to the meeting of these needs.

It is a seven-day church, usually over fifty years old and, in half the number of instances studied, still on the original site, now a central location. The membership averages over a thousand, and may be over two thousand. The budget is from $25,000 to $50,000, in a few cases as much as $75,000, the yearly cost of the smallest colleges. The average plant is valued at $242,194. The workers vary from two to twenty or thirty, with an average of six or seven. They have added to the traditional core, consisting of worship, religious education and recreation, many of the phases of service ordinarily associated with schools and social agencies, such as health, child welfare, varied cultural pursuits, vocational guidance, adult and youth education, dormitories, and forums for free discussion. All the lines of service are going on all the time. In a plant averaging nineteen rooms, the class in domestic science, the coaching of "The Old

Lady Shows Her Medals," the examination of a child's tonsils, the rehearsal of "The Messiah," the weighing of a baby, and the finding of a job for a cook, all find simultaneous place. The assistant pastor handles the details of the scheduled work, while the minister acts as general manager, advocate and contact man, with a supporting constituency or a subsidizing agency often far removed from the field of service and the types of people served.

The growth of indigenous examples of this type, through which needy but rising populations minister to their own needs, has been shown in the case studies, as has also the evolution of made-to-order super-institutions which, around a religious nucleus, express social idealism and philanthropy.

Erratic Churches

This group does not represent a homogeneous or consistent type, but rather a few wandering stars discharged here and there into the religious firmament at a tangent to the major line of development. A good many are churches for foreign-speaking people whose newness to America and to Protestantism alike exaggerate the foreign group's special need of economic adjustment. Sometimes such churches have worked out very exceptional combinations of program and emphases. Churches of migrant Negroes occasionally show the same traits —in a previously cited case a feeble church was run-

ning an employment agency. Other churches land in the erratic group as the result of uneven decay. They show the grotesque distortions of an old man, some of whose powers are gone while others stay. Still others so combine eccentricity of thought or practice with original experimentation as to suggest the mutability of genius.

Thus a Protestant church indulges in the following ceremonies. The "Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres," by Henry Adams, is read by the minister facing the altar, the congregation kneeling:

> Gracious Lady:—
> Simple as when I asked your aid before;
> Humble as when I prayed for grace in vain
> Seven hundred years ago; weak, weary, sore
> In heart and hope, I ask your help again. . . .
>
> So I too wandered off among the host
> That racked the earth to find the Father's clue.
> I did not find the Father, but I lost
> What I now value more, the Mother—you!

This ritual is followed by the unveiling of the sanctuary and the placing of the banner of the Annunciation during Bach-Gounod's "Ave Maria," then by the ritual dance of the Della Robbia Annunciation to music of Wolf-Ferrari's "Vita Nuova." The banner is then removed and the sanctuary veiled during the rendering of Handel's "Largo."

Along with the appeal of services of such flavor to the introspective and artistic person who takes

religion symbolically, go some very practical measures which the church is taking to get desirable people to live in its neighborhood. Decaying property which was going tenement has been bought, restored in character as beautiful early architecture, and reconstructed into small apartments, comfortable and managed expertly. Rents are so reasonable that there is a long waiting list. The church's habitual program provides culture and recreation for adults of the intellectual or intelligentsia type, with music, lectures, festivals, and the development of community feeling. The housing experiment colonizes a congenial group around the church door. But this church is one case in ten thousand.

Still other churches become erratic by being so traditional and at the same time so weighted by resources and advantages that they lean over backwards with prosperity. High-priced superficial improvements, novel facilities, big staffs, dangle from them like jewels on an over-ornamented woman. This is the eccentricity of extreme conservatism coupled with great wealth. Nevertheless there are not enough such churches to justify sensational novelists in taking them as the easy mark for satire. The average church is a distinctly inconspicuous institution; the underdeveloped, a feeble flickering light. The elaborated church, in its outline and structure, is merely a reasonable enlargement to match urban conditions, while the socially adapted church would seem to be a wholly commendable

effort to meet urban needs in specific ways. Nine out of every ten urban churches belong to these types. Perhaps as many as a fourth may fairly be called elaborated, a possible tenth socially adapted. The rest are just average or less.

The Meaning of the Types

Considering the antecedents of the less than average church, it is clear that in the main they represent religion imported into the city by incoming populations who have yet to be urbanized and, frequently, to be Americanized as well. In this stage the church is neither naturalized nor adapted. The typical program is exactly that of the village or the larger rural church. With these actually transplanted rural institutions go those people who have not been long enough in the city to have assimilated its ways, though they may partially have done so in matters other than religion. In religion, however, they take a resistant attitude, and are the more reactionary just in proportion as they feel the city's pull upon them to modify their thought and conduct. Young churches not always advisedly founded, and old churches fallen below their first estate are accidentally grouped with the unadapted type on account of their common institutional weakness and limitation. The former may graduate out of it by growth, the latter by death.

Adverse fortune does not develop churches which are too feeble to evolve or too obstinate. Conse-

quently, even under the conditions which force evolution in the main body of churches many survivals occur, churches in the city but not of it, so intent sometimes upon "the city which hath foundations" that they have no interest in laying the foundations of human character and faith underneath the present cities of steel and concrete.

The average church, in turn, is clearly the church partially urbanized and adapted. It is the church of those multitudes who become city folk superficially rather than profoundly. They live in two-family houses surrounded with bits of grass and thus still have contact with the land. Frequently they live near their work; they rarely stray out of their beaten paths, and have little contact with the congested center and other aspects of urban life. Their characters were formed and their mind-sets fixed before they moved to the city. All told, they respond to it more outwardly than inwardly. They are not to the city born, nor yet of the élite who share its privileges or catch its spirit. But they embellish their churches a little as compared with the country churches, exactly as the city masses dress better than rural people. The religious service is somewhat enriched, the program slightly extended. There is more money to spend. Slightly higher standards of plant and equipment are developed. This is the institution of approved patterns and successful neighborhoods. But there is no real change in principle or basic purpose or insight. Except as

it becomes mildly adventurous under pressure and does more of the conventional things when it finds enlarged resources, the average city church stops here. It mirrors the side streets rather than the city square, the endless sprawling miles of two-story houses rather than the skyscraping center. It is the most numerous type because most of the average area of the city visibly challenges the church to no more than this.

In the elaborated church with its many activities, its departments, its enlarged staff and plant, populations which are in comfortable circumstances but which must economize on housing space use their churches as they do hotels, restaurants and theatres. The city draws the young people from the country to its workshops. Often they are unmarried young men and women or childless couples. Marriage is deferred. Children are scarce. Anonymity is the condition of existence. Each individual lives to himself. Reduced to a room or two for living quarters, they spend most of their hours away from home except during sleep. The church is one of their resorts.

People of these sorts gather one by one from all directions and from almost any distance into the sharply graded and specialized organizations of the elaborated church. Here they exercise the genuine but casual religiousness of city nomads, often with very slight contact with other departments of the institution, and with little sense of responsibility for

its life as a whole. Separate constituencies, it may be, are grouped within the same church administration, under the same roof. For the one constituency, church life is conventional. The church is, to all intents, a mere average church. For the other constituency, church life affords an all-around program for this or that age or sex group. The two are identified only through the staff. The church is a community clubhouse, or a less specialized Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. combined. Such distinctly urban tendencies, sometimes accompanied by a definite effort of the pulpit to interpret urban life constructively, mark the elaborated church as an advanced example of adaptation. Usually, however, it exists for normally prosperous and adjusted populations, not for the exceptionally handicapped and maladjusted.

The socially adapted church bears its explanation on its face. It deliberately sets itself to match the city on the side of the city's greatest need, and so far as possible to afford leadership and opportunity for the most alien and unprivileged of its populations, with whom its best successes are likely to be one-sided. It is not necessary to assume that the organization of community service in parochial form through the so-called institutional church reflects the best method of meeting urban social need in its extremes. Very likely it is often better to undertake the same forms of service through other philanthropic agencies or the publicly supported welfare departments of municipalities. The socially adapted

church does constitute, however, one of the valid alternatives which definitely reflect the influences of the city upon forms of ecclesiastical organization.

Here then, all told, is the city's church, not merely growing up in all conceivable urban situations, reflecting them externally, and often profoundly controlled by them as conditions of institutional life or death, but broadly fitting itself to the major levels of the city's group life; to its essentially alien and unreconstructed people, to its half-urbanized masses, to the city-minded element living the characteristic life of the streets and resorts, and finally, to the harassed and menaced substratum for whom the city means a concentration of ills, miseries and degradations. The church does not merely come into the city on all levels, it fits itself to the city on all levels. The main question is whether its resources and adaptation are duly proportioned, so that all levels have a fair share of the type of service they need and want.

THE CHURCH'S EXTENSIONS AND ALLIES

While all kinds of churches bear the single name of church, regardless of such strikingly various characteristics as have just been discussed, the church's allies and extensions are quite clearly labeled according to their respective functions. A hospital is called a hospital, an orphanage an orphanage, an old people's home an old people's home, so that an inventory of any is largely self-explanatory. Within

the group of the church's extensions one must first distinguish between the ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical types and organizations. The former consist primarily of agencies which deal with the same range of interests and activities that the local churches undertake, but on a more inclusive basis. That is to say, they administer and foster or assist the work of groups of churches. They do the larger thinking, determining the big lines of strategy and devising programs and methods for such groups. These superior agencies, whether denominational or interdenominational, may be called the church's extensions.

Organizations for Special Purposes

There are also organizations, both ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical, which deal with special interests beyond fields ordinarily occupied by local churches, such as those of institutionalized education and philanthropy. Denominational schools and philanthropic agencies, in other words, are merely the church doing as a unit things which individual parishes cannot do alone (except a few socially adapted churches of unusual size), but which the whole body of churches of any given communion feel they ought to do. These serve special interests cooperatively, through institutions which are non-ecclesiastical in form and which label themselves accordingly.

What a Denomination Is

The term denomination implies a complicated set of machinery closely geared with local churches. The denomination supplements and directs their work, and undertakes additional phases of special service on their behalf. First of all, the ministers need to meet and become acquainted with one another and their common problems. Next there must be officially organized machinery of church administration and extension, its aim being to found churches, secure ministers, aid and direct the weaker parishes through the many adversities which previous sections have described, raise money for missions, local, national and foreign, and in general to operate the church as a larger local whole. These agencies take varied but strikingly similar forms in the several denominations, and they are often paralleled by similar administrative and promotional machinery of religious education. Then there will be the city-wide organization of denominational women's missionary interests; the overhead machinery of the young people's unions or leagues, with possibly similar organizations of men's work. Finally there will be city-wide committees charged with promoting special movements; for example, the devotional life, tithing, and so on. No general data exist as to the number of such organizations in American cities, but a typical case will illustrate the facts. Thirteen major denominations of St. Louis

show a total of forty-nine such agencies, including thirteen ministers' meetings, seven church extension societies, fourteen denominational organizations of women and ten of young people, besides a miscellaneous group for other interests. In addition, St. Louis in 1926 had forty-five specialized denominational enterprises, including twenty-eight children's, old people's and other homes, eight hospitals, and nine schools of major rank.

Denominational machinery takes similar form, less elaborate in smaller cities, more elaborate in larger ones, throughout America.

Interdenominational Extensions and Allies

These various denominational extensions largely underlie and form the cooperating unit of such interdenominational movements as church federations, councils of religious education, and interdenominational missionary organizations. Most of the large cities now have Protestant church federations, but these vary greatly in their inclusiveness and degree of development. Representing the inclusive type, the St. Louis Church Federation has recently absorbed or formally affiliated three types of interdenominational movements which are sometimes independent; namely, the city-wide agency of religious education, the women's organizations for missionary interests and social service, and the union young people's organizations. Interdenominational laymen's organizations and the city-wide ministers'

meetings are independent but closely cooperating agencies. Just as the denominations have gone into the field of special service, so too the cooperating Protestant forces through the federations have come to engage in a variety of social and philanthropic work. Besides evangelistic work in industries, parks, and on the streets, the St. Louis Federation maintains special court workers. All this work is done in the name of the whole body of Protestant churches of the city.

Non-Sectarian Religious Allies

The city church has also a vast development of cooperative work which is non-sectarian as well as non-ecclesiastical. It represents the voluntary fellowship of Christian men and women. Chief of these allies of the Protestant church, historically speaking, are the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations; while in different cities Protestant hospitals, protectories, etc., have also developed, in addition to the denominational philanthropic agencies. St. Louis has seven of these non-ecclesiastical Protestant agencies.

Certain non-sectarian agencies, which may or may not be also related to other faiths, are so frequently identified with Protestant churches that they stand as accepted allies and reinforcements. Such agencies are illustrated by the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls, large numbers of whose local units are under church sponsorship and direction. There

is also an important group of agencies of moral reform or law enforcement—such as the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union—strongly identified with general Protestant interests. Just now the historical Sunday school movement occupies an intermediate position between the non-ecclesiastical and the ecclesiastical agencies. It is in process of more definitely basing itself upon authorized denominational action, and thus is working over toward the ecclesiastical group of agencies.

All-Protestant Cooperation

Two main streams of development have accounted for the vast expansion of the city church beyond the local parishes: one that which directly extends the interests of the local churches, the other that which expresses the special interests of Protestantism outside of the parochial field. The two have overflowed toward one another, are finding more and more points of contact, and are beginning to create machinery of common action. In one city the secretaries of the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Sunday School Association and the Federation of Churches regularly meet for conference. This is a first step. In another the same man is the executive head of the Council of Churches, Council of Religious Education, and Y.M.C.A. This is going far. But in many cities people are asking why there should not be some all-Protestant organization, some inclusive organ of the church and its allies and extensions.

This cooperation of the cooperators represents the final stage of the evolution of the over-church machinery in cities.

The Church Backing the Community

Still beyond, however, lies the field of cooperation external to Protestantism; first with public agencies such as schools, philanthropies, and welfare departments of cities, and then with voluntary agencies engaged in social service. Of special importance are the contacts and methods of cooperation with councils of social agencies and with the Community Chest movements.

This enormous massing of allies about the city church creates a situation worlds away from that presented by the town and village. In rural America the local church is the only religious agency of the community. There is incidental cooperation between these several churches or their ministers, but no organized and continuous entity. Protestantism *is* the Protestant churches. In the city, however, Protestantism is preeminently a larger church consisting of many local organizations, congregations and parishes plus all the florescence of a vast and enlarging array of supplementary and coordinating agencies. These further complicate the situation created by the many varieties of local churches and their individual involvement with the other constructive forces of the city. The variations and relationships among the churches, and the vast network of

organized religious activity above the level of the individual church, constitute the two chief characteristics of the urban religious situation.

Thus inventoried and traced in detail, the city church appears as a fairly colossal enterprise. Its variety and complexity begin to inspire one exactly as the city does and for the same reasons. There is so much of it. It takes so many forms. It goes beyond what is traditionally conceived as the church. If the average individual unit is relatively weak, the total is vast. The church as a whole fits the city aptly and faithfully. In bulk it is not least among the urban phenomena. It remains to be seen whether its significance equals its bulk; whether it is making good as well as existing on a large scale and in many forms.

VI

STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF THE CITY CHURCH

THE previous chapters have provided a setting for the city church, considered in both its historical and contemporaneous aspects. They have described the characteristic situations out of which it grows, and the types and supplementary forms into which it falls. Whatever of institutional success or failure has been found within it has been set forth as the result of the evolution of organized religion transplanted from the country to the city and developed under the mighty influences of city life. Churches have appeared and disappeared, but the church remains, impressive, vast, manifold.

But this is only part of the story. There has as yet been no comparison of the church's rate of progress relative to that of other institutions or to that of the city as a whole. No trends have been established, and no appraisal has been made of the comparative strength of the forces of life and of death. For all its vastness the church may be losing ground. It may have no genuine future prospects. Its fortunes may be declining. This possibility the present chapter undertakes to find out, asking how the church is getting on in the city and what its prospects are.

Manifestly the prospects are not altogether good. As the previous study of cases reveals, multitudes of churches stand on dangerous ground. It is highly probable that within the last generation the majority of existing Protestant churches of the great cities of the United States have had to face the major risks of birth or death, of dwindling power, of enforced change of location, of amalgamation, of radical alteration of outlook and method. For a good many more churches conditions will be worse before they are better. Almost literally, then, the city church stands in jeopardy every hour. Robust indeed needs be the faith that sings: "The ark shall ride the sea of fire, and rest again on Zion's hill."

Though the adverse facts are assuredly challenging enough, scarcely one of them is beyond explanation and partial mitigation. The task of the following pages is to set the pros and cons of the situation over against each other, to confess the large measure of uncertainty which remains at the end, and to point out the directions of greatest promise without pretending to any absolute proof that hopes can be realized.

In discussing the urban church's status and prospects, at least three distinct levels ought to be distinguished. The first is that of bare institutional survival. One may ask whether as a net result of the whole evolutionary process there are more churches and ministers relative to population than

there used to be, and whether churches have longer average life. But churches exist to serve, not merely to survive. Accordingly one asks next what evidence there is that the city church is increasingly able to perform normal institutional functions for urban constituencies under average conditions or better. Finally there is the realm of exceptional difficulty, the area of confessed problems, of much debate and frequent failure. In this realm also, when losses and gains are balanced, how is the city church getting along and is it making good?

Each of these three viewpoints will be made the focus of the discussion as it proceeds.

CAN THE CITY CHURCH SURVIVE?

Rate of Importation and Growth of Constituency

Relatively there are fewer Protestants in urban populations than there used to be. This is because the growth of cities has been from non-Protestant sources. Even though Protestantism has grown faster than the population in some of the slow-growing cities, and though it has in the main retained such population as belongs to it by historical tradition, it is now a smaller fraction of the total than it once was.

But—influence is not primarily based upon numbers, and the minority often rules. The Protestant minority has a strong social hold. Moreover, the limitation of immigration in recent times gives

Protestantism an advantage it has not had in a hundred years.

Mortality Rate

The death rate of the urban Protestant church is so high that it is a "bad risk." In typical cities as many as a quarter of the churches have died, while enough more to make up a full half live on at a dying rate.

But—the city has been passing through its pioneer period, and the death rate of all such periods is high. Consider the children and wives who died on the American frontier. Now the city is finding itself. Such devices as zoning and city planning are helping it to stabilize its own development; and with the passing of the pioneering stage the proportion of institutional failures should grow distinctly less.

Institutional Feebleness

The Protestant who belongs to the average city church is a member of a small and weak institution. Previous chapters showed that its most characteristic size is from 100 to 200 members, its budget from $2,000 to $3,000, its minister's salary from $1,000 to $2,000. It is expensive to be as poor as this; and the people of these average churches pay as much for a church reflecting their weakness as the wealthy pay for a church of strength and success. This statement of the average does not

count the wild votaries of religion kneeling under dim lights in prayer against the wrath to come, nor does it include the Negroes just come North, jerking and swaying to "My Lord, what a mornin', when de stars begin to fall." If it did, the average would be lower.

But—the churches of the standard denominations, the prosperous churches singing "Onward, Christian Soldiers," are getting larger. The record of the last two census periods shows this, as does the count taken in various cities. In St. Louis the average size of these churches increased by a quarter of their membership over a period of twenty years. In other words, the high death rate of churches has proved to be selective. It has eliminated the weaklings, leaving the average strength of the survivors greater than in the past.

Impermanence

City churches show great mobility of location. In a thousand cases, three out of four were found to have moved at least once during their history. It is almost impossible to keep a church upon the original cornerstone. There is, for example, the cornerstone laid in 1827; it is still there, but the church moved in 1850, in 1890, in 1912, and now thinks of moving again. Sometimes neighboring churches have moved with it. Colonies of churches have been rivals in three or four different localities within half a century. Look at an engraving of

any large city in the United States at about 1850: the church spires pierce the skyline like so many needle points. Not so now; great areas have been swept clean of Protestant churches. The tradition of moving in the face of difficulty has become established. It makes church policies tentative and hesitant. Their people spend much time waiting for the worst to happen.

But—the city moved, did it not? Some of the moving of the church must be looked upon as evidence of commendable ability to keep up with the urban situation. Moreover, a good proportion of removals are institutionally for the better. At worst, then, there appears to be no likelihood that the city church will not at least survive and meet the lowest test, that of mere institutional continuance.

ADEQUATE SERVICE TO NORMAL CONSTITUENCIES

Lost Members

In addition to surviving, the city church ought to be able to perform reasonably effective service under average or favorable conditions. Does it do so? One of the chief challenges is the terrific leakage in membership.

"We receive this person into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified and

manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world and the devil, and to continue Christ's faithful servant and soldier unto his life's end." Yet these confirmed members are often lost to the church. In the great denominations of Springfield, Massachusetts, the loss was seventy out of every hundred over a period of twenty years, and in St. Louis it was seventy-six. The church does not even know what becomes of many of these people. In Springfield twenty-three per cent, and in St. Louis forty-one per cent, of those who left membership were lost without trace. When the church revised its books it dug this number of unmarked graves.

But—if the ebb tide of population movements draws many out of the church, the returning tide brings many of them back into church life again. Study of the sources of church membership in popular city churches reveals large numbers who unite neither by letter nor by first confession, but upon some reaffirmation of previous Christian relationships. There is a return on a large scale wherever the church doors are attractively opened at the great centers of urban congregation and resort.

Tenuous Hold upon Adherents

Even for adherents won back to the church, however, little is done, considering what the church undertakes to do. Only a few persons are brought in close relation to the church. Thus among twenty-four thousand persons whose cases were recently

surveyed, half were church members only or were Sunday school pupils only, or belonged to the subsidiary organizations only. To find those who were connected in more than two such ways, one had to look to a very small fraction, fourteen in every hundred adherents. These are the much connected and frequently overworked people, the bane and blessing of all religious undertakings. They are singing in the choir, decorating for Easter, teaching in the Sunday school, leading the Girl Scouts, cooking in the kitchen, cleaning in the parlor, praying in the prayer meeting. They constitute the nucleus of the church, while the great mass of their fellows are bound by slender and slenderer ties. The participation in the church of this great majority is so feeble that it seems impossible for the church to organize and occupy their lives.

But—the inner strength and glory of a single religious tie cannot be measured. And perhaps urban life sometimes finds more constructive uses for the energies of Christians than maintaining multiple ties with the sectarian church.

Narrowness of Effective Program

Obviously the true test of a church's breadth is not how much of a program it is operating, all told, but how much of a program it is bringing to the average adherent. The general position of this book has been that average city churches reflect the degree of urbanization of average city people,

and hence are types of religious institutions suited to their needs. This would actually prove true if the effective program were as broad as the supposed program even of the traditional church, whereas, as the last section showed, it is not.

In spite of the many subsidiaries and the elaborate machinery of the city church, the average effective program is limited and unoriginal. Nearly all of the newer interests crowded in have been ecclesiastical in origin, so that, from the standpoints of religious breadth and of the wider applications of religion to life, all that has happened has not achieved an essential change of emphasis. What the majority of city churches get over to the average member is a rural pattern of the religious life which they have embellished a trifle, but without modification or enlargement of its inner principle.

But—while one need not be over-sanguine as to the meaning of the formal broadening of church programs and the reaching out into novelties, the prophets of the city church are at work upon its essential structure. Promising studies and experiments are going on. Probably one-third of all city churches now have at least the beginnings of staffs, while perhaps a quarter show an evolution in program beyond the pattern set by tradition.

Accumulation of Mechanism

The present program of the church has grown by a process of accretion. One thing after another

has been added, over a very long period. Since the whole has never been remodelled, the result betrays much awkwardness of adjustment, much over-organization. A well organized church often makes several competitive approaches to each age and sex of its constituents. Every time the church at large takes up any new movement, swarms of eager people try to "put it over" in the churches everywhere. Since the last war there has been a great increase of expressional activities for youth. At present, children's congregations are the vogue. They imitate the forms of the morning church service, and are generally crowded in on top of the worship of the Sunday school. The passing fads in education, the ribbons and buttons and dinners for new achievements, the campaigns for money, the days for fathers and sons, for mothers and daughters, conspire to clutter the church's foreground.

But—some of these distracting phenomena of the urban church are aspects of the life of the city around, which the church has taken up in the attempt to match the modern spirit. Meanwhile the church's conception of religious education is deepening, and the recreational and expressional sides of the church's activity are being caught up into the unity of an inclusive idea. This focussing will reduce the organizational confusion within the local church field.

Maverick Tendency of Subsidiaries

The city church has many loosely related subsidiary organizations. It often happens that some of them feel as if their particular revelation were the faith delivered to the saints, and they proceed to act accordingly. Their original purpose was blessed by the church, but they have now acquired a hands-off attitude. They have become ends in themselves, with small regard for the religious core of the church's interests or its administrative unity.

But—if it were not for these subsidiary organizations, the average member would participate in his church even less than he does now. In an age which is conscious of living in proportion as it does things, people are not satisfied merely to sing "Work, for the night is coming." There must be a president, a secretary, a treasurer, committees, reports, parliamentary rules, projects and papers. When this procedure makes people happy and furnishes a vehicle for the expression of organizing capacities, when strangers find friends in this way, and people are brought together into groups where they can express themselves and enjoy a larger share in the world's work, here in itself is a good defense of the city church.

Inadequate Service of Remote Constituencies

Increasing numbers of city churches have extremely scattered parishes. The farther a church

gets away from its members, the less likely it is to be of service to them, at least as measured by their attendance on meetings and organizations. Sometimes a pastor blurts out frankly, "I cannot use my distant members. All I want is their support."

But—this is not always true. Thanks to the city's transit facilities, remote constituencies of urban churches are sometimes quite as closely connected as are near-by ones. Ultimately the city Christian may be brought to acknowledge two ecclesiastical connections, one with the church nearest his home, and the other with whatever church he prefers in whatever part of the city it is located. He ought to be able to belong to more than one church and, if necessary, to more than one communion. Such memberships would be protests against the sometimes narrow parochial spirit of the neighborhood, and would let religious relationships branch out in normal development just as other city relationships have branched out in the sense of becoming more numerous and varied.

The Minister's Untenable Position

In addition to all these handicaps, the church suffers from a brief and interrupted leadership. In a thousand cases, four out of every ten city ministers were found to have been in their present pastorates only from two to three years. Only sixteen per cent were veterans of ten years of continuous service.

With respect to this situation, it is hard to find any comfort. It is probably true, if this can comfort, that there is a greater stability of personnel in the overhead ecclesiastical organization than in the local parishes. City mission secretaries and church federation executives serve longer, and there is perhaps more continuity in the general leadership of their organizations than in that of the individual church. The minister now is either worn out, starved out, or thrown out, before he has had time to bring the results of any cumulative effort to bear upon the city.

CAN THE CITY CHURCH MEET THE EXCEPTIONAL PROBLEMS?

Some of the outstanding challenges of the city to the church concern the fortunes of people who are left behind while the church seeks institutional self-preservation in removals or adaptations. There are also to be considered the almost equally tragic failures of success, the one-sidedness and limitations which characterize much work into which great devotion goes and in which the church rightly takes great pride.

Lower Cultural Standards of Substitute Churches

The influence of a church building in a neighborhood may fortunately outlast that of a particular organization or denomination. The people move with the changing city, but the building stays and

substitute churches come to occupy it. When a noble church is consecrated to "receive the prayers and intercessions of all those Thy servants who shall call upon Thee in this house," an unconscious blessing is often being asked upon poor and humble people who will take over the church in years to come. The history of church removals is, however, that substitute churches are generally on a lower level of culture, organization, and ecclesiastical standing. Consequently, while the population of Protestant tradition remaining in these neighborhoods may have just as many churches per thousand, their standards are reduced. "Bootleg" religions take the place of the old refinements and intellectual distinction.

But—this all the more reveals the democratic roots of the church, the ability of humble people to do for themselves religiously, and their incurable desire to do it. It testifies to the religiousness of man on whatever social level. It means the continuous rebirth of the church out of the fires of crude emotional experience; fires which cool all too soon.

Abandonment of the Neighborhood in Spite of Physical Continuance

A church which still stays on its original site frequently comes to have nothing to do with the people living in its locality. Its own people have moved elsewhere, but they continue to come back to church

in large numbers. From the standpoint of city-wide prestige and institutional success, such a church may even be better off than before; but it may mean almost nothing to its neighbors. The majority of the people living in this locality walk straightway from the great central churches to humbler churches elsewhere.

But—the church which has lost touch with the people at its own gates has some defense in the claim that it serves the urban religious situation in a larger way. It has adjusted itself to the city rather than to its neighborhood. Department stores, theatres and banks exist to serve not the people who live near them, but rather multitudes who gather from all directions; and some churches operating on such a basis—a reasonable number—can be justified on the same grounds.

One-Sided Constituencies

When an old-time family constituency has moved away, churches are left with the less mobile element, or they try to attract new followings by means of special adaptations of ministry. But this policy when successful usually results in a one-sided church. It wins those who are easiest to win under the particular circumstances, and counts itself lucky if it can win them at all. It is thus a church of old people, or young people, or unmarried women, or children, or of boys; no longer a true cross-section of humanity. What happens to the rest of the

families to which these groups belong is regarded as beyond the power of the church.

But—the collective church in the city is still a cross-section of humanity, more truly than the local churches are. The church is still responsible for all people. By church one means the sum total of the organized Christian forces. Even when the family is broken up religiously, the boy may go to the club at the Christian center, the girl to the Y.W.C.A., the young people to the popular downtown preaching, while the old people stick to the neighborhood church. So much is possible and quite often actual, in a day of disorganized domestic relations. The least that two or three local churches can do when they find themselves ministering to a single family is first to know about it, and second to behave as the branches of one church; that is to say, to strengthen each other's hands and to cooperate, rather than to compete as to which can win the support of the whole family.

Inadequate Alliances with Community Agencies

When it is proved that the church is directly touching the community only to a limited extent and then one-sidedly, one may hope that this narrowness is compensated for by the largeness of its contacts with other working agencies of the community. This is not the case. List the long roll: first, those which everyone knows about—the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Scouts and the Chil-

dren's Bureau, the day nursery, the Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis; then those which reflect more specialized interests—committees on prison reform, aid for crippled children, the merchant marine libraries, mental hygiene clinics, committees for friendly relations among foreign students, lodging houses for homeless men, art center endowment campaigns, immigrant education and other social service organizations. Few churches know much about these agencies or have gone far toward using practically the social resources which they afford.

But—some mitigation of this condition may be found in the fact that the church maintains a large number of philanthropies and character-building agencies of its own in which it takes first interest. Furthermore, councils of social work and community chests are pulling these extensions and allies of the church into closely cooperative relations, even when the local churches know little about it.

SUMMARY

The list of the city church's problems might be indefinitely prolonged; and probably for every problem some partial remedy would be discerned. The outcome would and does remain doubtful as far as argument is concerned. There simply are no dependable scales in which to weigh the mitigations one by one or all together over against the difficulties, and to tell on which side the balance tips.

Even if the balance now tips against the church, it is not necessarily against the spiritual life of man in the long run. On the other hand, one will scarcely have the hardihood to maintain that he knows any genuine evidence that the church is doing better spiritually than it is institutionally. On the contrary, the characteristic failure of the church as an institution to keep in broad and intimate relation with the average adherent for any considerable length of time, raises the most grievous uncertainty as to its success in implanting the roots of faith and character. Indeed, very likely the church is getting along better institutionally than it is spiritually. The mechanics of existence are in our day quite generally ahead of the inner values and graces of life. Even so, the way which leads to institutional success is exceedingly narrow. The church is deeply rooted in the city, and shows persistence and versatility in keeping up with the city's changes. But it has no assurance of a walkaway; at most it has but a fighting chance. How great, then, its need to lay aside every weight and to bring every power into play in order to succeed, beyond the level of mere survival, as a vital factor in the urban social order.

VII

COOPERATION THE HOPE OF PROTESTANTISM

THE religious faiths of the city have been imported into it from many quarters. They have come along with immigrant people deriving from every tribe and kingdom and nation. Each new element of population has brought its traditional religious pattern, and has proceeded to found its churches and supplementary institutions accordingly. Some of these institutions have survived, many have died, nearly all have moved at least once, and a majority have hard times just ahead, if they are not already experiencing them, in the flux and struggle of the city's growth.

The city thus presents a vast spectacle of accidental churches and allied agencies, as regards numbers, location, and distribution. There is a clutter of religious institutions, a Babel of gospels. It could not be otherwise so long as the process was merely one of piling up heaps of churches according to the limited understanding or vagrant whims of successive generations, without any planning of a whole or any integration of results such as might match the successive phases of need of the rapidly changing city. No rational intelligence would devise such religious institutions of the city as have

been fallen upon in consequence of the crude struggle for survival.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD COOPERATION

Meanwhile, however, the natural assimilating processes of the city have gone forward apace. There has been Americanization of the deliberate sort, and spontaneous "self-Americanization." Differences have been diluted by common fashions, standards, tastes; and the children of the diverse migratory streams are less far apart, culturally and economically, than their fathers were. Contacts have multiplied; peoples within a common civilization have learned from one another. The rancor engendered by difference is reduced perhaps even more than the difference itself. But the ecclesiastical forms which grew up out of the original situations continue, though they have ceased in any considerable measure to reflect actively divergent human attitudes or valid grounds of segregation in the community.

The Churches Growing More Alike

One striking evidence that religious differences are not really the serious matter they pretend to be is the fact that city people wear denominational ties lightly. They cannot see that churches are so very different. Here is a woman who was brought up a Methodist, married a Congregationalist, attends a Presbyterian church, and has a daughter

married to a Jew. She merely rationalizes the fact that her religious belief has undergone all these adjustments when she says, "It is all one God anyway, but no single path to heaven."

City churches draw their actual memberships from many different denominations. In a recent sampling of downtown churches, from twenty to seventy-five per cent of members received by letter, as the majority were, were found coming from denominations other than the one to which the church belonged, the average from alien sources being approximately one-third. No church experiencing such intermixture can stubbornly maintain its original separateness of viewpoint. A neighborhood survey disclosed that in eight per cent of the Protestant families in an urban district there were mixed denominational allegiances within the family. Some members went to one church and others to another. In most cities, out of the scores of denominations, ninety per cent of all Protestants will be found affiliated with eight or ten major denominations. A still larger fraction recognize each other as evangelical in faith and similar in church methods. In spite of surviving denominational differences, this great central body of Protestant adherents feels a definite unity in contrast with its attitude toward non-Protestants. The truth is that the denominations are becoming alike through processes of natural evolution. This large underlying measure of essential religious homogeneity vitalizes the move-

ment of organized cooperation, as well as making it all but inevitable.

Counter Currents

Meanwhile the forces which originally created religious differences are not idle. New denominations and sects are continually imported, though the movement is now slowed down by limitations of foreign immigration. Home-grown fads and religious vagaries multiply. Numerous private religions and petty cults have sprung up, some to house themselves in dingy halls and others to sit on gilded chairs in the ballrooms of great hotels. Each decade sees new denominational names added to the United States religious census. Many of these irregulars quickly shed their more pronounced peculiarities and win more or less cordial recognition from the older denominations. However, if the difference is one of nationality, buttressed behind peculiarities of language, garb, and social custom, it may take generations for the sense of being religiously an alien to be obliterated.

A new source of religious division along racial lines has come into the Northern cities with Negro migration. Some of the Protestant Negro congregations have more members than has any other Protestant congregation, and in certain cities new Negro churches are being founded more rapidly than white churches. The non-cooperating elements of Protestantism thus keep pressing into the cities. All

told, however, except for the Negro denominations, they concern relatively few people. Movements are many, adherents few. All the while the cooperating majority increases.

The Impulse to Cooperation

> For all thy church, O Lord, we intercede.
> Make thou our sad divisions soon to cease;
> Draw us the nearer, each to each, we plead,
> By drawing all to thee, O Prince of Peace;
> Thus may we all one bread, one body be,
> Through this blest sacrament of unity.

It is futile to search for a single motive as the explanation of so varied a phenomenon as organized Protestant cooperation. The fact of growing likeness in religious bodies has released into expression unconscious longings which now find voice in numerous conscious reasons. One may perhaps question whether the sweetness and pleasantness of dwelling together in unity, or even the shame of unchristian rivalry between those who are one body in Christ, have actually been as potent in drawing organized Protestantism together as have been certain less worthy motives, such as the feeling that Protestants must hang together in opposition to Jews and Catholics, or the experience of common failure and the sense that an alternative to cooperation is disaster. At any rate, cooperative movements are mightily reinforced by the dubious position of the city church. If the hope of urban Prot-

estantism for the future does not lie here, it is hard to see what other objective grounds of hope there can be. It is not so much that the brotherliness and reasonableness of cooperation commend it, as that the underlying social processes are in its favor. Increasingly the church finds it possible to drink from one cup because its denominational branches are evolving toward one another in spirit.

THE EXISTING FORMS OF COOPERATION

(a) DENOMINATIONAL COOPERATION

Interdenominational cooperation has actually grown up parallel with the increased practice of cooperation within denominations. Each movement has helped the other.

In large cities a denomination is much more than an ecclesiastical fellowship carrying on certain long-range activities in common. Each of the larger denominations tends to identify itself with a closely woven network of agencies for extension, supervision and service.

In the beginning there was only the Old First Church of a denomination, say the Presbyterian; with time there came the Second Presbyterian. Each had a Sunday school, young people's society, women's societies, men's club. Next there came a mission, which eventually grew into the Elm Street Presbyterian; then another mission for a backward group. These missions looked to the denomination

for support, and the older churches had to take counsel together concerning them. As the membership grew with the city, the denomination began to call the churches together to hear a common speaker on important occasions. Special meetings, dinners, picnics, musicals, etc., were advertised first in the sister churches. Finally a pastor who had denominational sensitiveness came to an outstanding pulpit. Under his leadership was developed a campaign for membership or money, with charts of great barometers in which the red could be seen slowly rising. Rivalry became warm, cheerful, interesting. Missionary interests and strawberry festivals and pageantry did their perfect work until they had knit together the whole, and the parts had come to value their union as much as they valued their separateness. Such is the process of denominational cooperation.

HISTORY OF ORGANIZED COOPERATION

Cooperation in special fields, supplementing but not interfering with the development of denominations, is an old story. Its outstanding accomplishments have been in the sphere of the Sunday school and of work for special types of young people through the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. These movements primarily represent the voluntary cooperation of Protestant individuals, though they have long since reached the status of acknowledged ecclesiastical relationships and are now actively

engaged in reconsidering their direct relationship with the church. They still remain a very important aspect of Protestant cooperation.

Direct ecclesiastical cooperation between churches as such, expressed in church federations and councils of churches, now has a history of about two decades to its credit. In its earlier phase it represented also a voluntary movement of individuals and local churches. The more recent tendency is for the federation movement to become distinctly one of interdenominational cooperation, set up and legitimatized through the direct action of denominational ecclesiastical machinery.

Federations or councils of churches now exist in nearly fifty of the larger cities. The movement has not been without discouraging experiences of failure and lapse, especially in the smaller cities, but it is thoroughly established as the outstanding type of organized cooperation of the present day. There are numerous cities in which the federation includes ninety per cent or more of the constituencies of the white Protestant churches.

(b) INTERDENOMINATIONAL COOPERATION

Cooperation through the church federation movement is not ideally complete. Not only is it not absolutely inclusive of Protestantism, but it does not signify that denominational rivalries entirely cease or that unity fully pervades the plans and detailed operations of hundreds of churches. The

Negro, the non-evangelical and the non-standardized groups are often not included, and when they are nominally included their participation is often not very active or greatly advertised. Nevertheless, as never before in Protestantism, a measure of working unity is being achieved. To meet the fact of uneven development and unequal readiness for cooperation, numerous half-way measures are being devised which express the sense of larger unity even when the fully developed methods of church federation are too far in advance of the situation. Thus certain denominations which find themselves unable to accept full membership in federations manage to cooperate with certain departments and commissions, and serve on committees for certain definite projects. Individual churches, too, are very unequally impressed. They do not always feel immediately that they are affected in tangible ways. Yet the leadership of Protestantism, denominational and general, is more and more learning to see eye to eye, though as yet with many limitations, reservations and discrepancies between the theory and the practice.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the cooperative movement is the prevention of duplications, rivalries and tensions. But its positive program as well is varied and impressive. Some of the things which federations commonly undertake are briefly outlined in the following pages.

Evangelism

In most cities the Lenten season is now celebrated by union Protestant services held in central locations. Leading speakers of the country are brought to deliver a common message at this time. The other festivals of the Christian year also have collective celebration. Great music is provided. High-powered advertising is called on for help. The commanding scale and elevated plane of these services may stir even a great city. Federations usually conduct a certain amount of outdoor evangelism, preaching in the streets and in the parks. They undertake the conduct of religious services in public philanthropic and penal institutions. More recently, broadcasting by radio has been added to the typical federation program. Broadcasting companies are glad to assure the standards and general acceptance of such features by entering into arrangements with competent representatives of the majority of the churches, rather than to face the difficulty of dealing with them individually.

Religious Education

The most frequent cooperative venture in religious education is the community training school for the preparation of Protestant Sunday school teachers, which is maintained for several months of the year in most cities. Secondary activities include the conduct of the daily vacation Bible school

movement and the development of systems of week-day religious instruction. The training of young people for church leadership is also undertaken jointly, often in connection with a young people's department federating the leagues, unions, and Christian Endeavor movements of the several denominations.

Comity

The heart of the comity idea is an agreement by all the cooperating denominations not to locate new churches or relocate old ones without consultation and consideration of the effect of their location upon existing churches or the plans of others. It is usually also agreed to submit these matters to arbitration in cases of disagreement. This is a decisive step toward a common administration of Protestantism, in spite of the fact that case studies suggest that the actual success of the process may reach not more than fifty per cent of theoretical success. Consultations actually precede, and unified judgments actually determine, much of the new strategy of the urban church. Limited surveys of the field are commonly undertaken to discover the objective needs of additional churches, and the preferences of the people are ascertained by house to house visitation. More positive measures are less frequently carried out; such measures, for example, as the comprehensive study in advance of the needs of growing and changing parts of the

city, and the assignment of regional responsibility to the several denominations for new churches as they are needed. Sometimes comity agreements are expanded to cover the division of mission work for especially needy and handicapped groups of people. In a few instances holding companies have been formed to acquire strategic property in new sections of the city for church sites as they come to be needed by the cooperating denominations.

Social Service

The church federation characteristically acts as a liaison organization between the Protestant churches and the constructive social forces of the community, such as the councils of social agencies, community chests and the major charities. Numerous joint projects with the Y.M.C.A. have been carried out, particularly street and shop services. In the support of their distinctly social ministries a number of federations now participate in the benefits of the community chest. A few report their own summer camps. The habitual forms of social ministry are in the courts, hospitals and institutions. In cooperation with probation officers or other court workers, a federation generally undertakes a certain responsibility for delinquents who may be assigned to Protestant care by the courts. It tries to bring paroled children into active connection with and under the normal pastoral care

of the church in their vicinity. It often holds services in jails and prisons. Again, the federation supplies chaplains for service to hospitals and institutions, and organizes the cooperating churches in helpful ministries to the unfortunate inmates.

Public Opinion

Great stress is now being put by federations upon mobilization of Protestant sentiment and organized education in the churches in behalf of international good-will, racial fraternity, and right industrial relations. In many cases this includes organized cooperation and the establishment of helpful contacts with representative foreign and racial groups. Increasingly the federation undertakes to speak for Protestantism in public affairs in which these issues are involved. This activity sometimes carries them into fields in which the churches themselves are not in full agreement, and throws them back upon the necessity of doing cooperative thinking before proposing definite plans of cooperative conduct.

Legislation and Law Enforcement

A few federations maintain legislative committees which seek to promote constructive measures in behalf of childhood, the family, labor, and the care of delinquents and dependents. More common are committees or departments which serve actively in behalf of Sabbath observance and campaign

against what is judged to be the unwholesome in photoplays, the theatre and reading. Federations have been particularly active in backing the enforcement of prohibitory laws.

Women's and Young People's Departments

An increasing number of federations maintain women's departments, their chief interest being in the interdenominational promotion of missionary education and social service. They furnish also a channel for the independent thinking of women's interdenominational groups upon Christian problems. Several federations serve as central bureaus for the young people's movements of various denominations. A few promote interchurch athletics as part of their program.

But the most common and inevitable function performed by the federations is that of serving as a clearing-house of information and plans for the Protestant forces of the community. They furnish the common meeting place for consultation and fellowship, and are increasingly looked to by the press and other community institutions in all Protestant affairs.

The foregoing account of the work of a federation generalizes a comparative study of a large number of cases. How the performance of functions thus generalized actually went on in a specific instance may be seen by an abbreviated annual report of a city federation:

Open-air evangelistic services, with sixty ministers participating in the street preaching, were held during the year. A notable series of inspirational meetings was held during Lent, with hundreds turned away on Good Friday. Radio services were used to stimulate interest in morning worship. As a result of these and other parts of the program of evangelism, sixty thousand new members of the churches were reported.

The Council of Religious Education, functioning as the Department of Religious Education for the Federation, carried out a comprehensive program which included interdenominational oversight of Sunday schools, daily vacation Bible schools, week-day schools of religious education, and the training of religious leadership.

A juvenile court worker was appointed to represent the Protestant bodies in following up juvenile delinquents. The Federation has also undertaken, at the request of the Board of County Commissioners, to be responsible for all Protestant services in the county institutions.

The Industrial Conference, which created community-wide interest in the meaning of Christianity in industry, was reported at length in the last issue of the Bulletin.

Race Relations Sunday was observed with many interchanges of pulpits between white and Negro ministers.

A new church for Chinese Christians was purchased, and a religious work for the Filipinos in the city was also begun.

A complimentary dinner to foreign students of the city brought together influential representatives of different races and nations in a spirit of brotherhood, for the purpose of interpreting to them the higher side of American life.

A city-wide observance of Armistice Day in behalf of universal peace was held. On the Sunday before election

all pulpits were urged to speak against civic wrong and to demand righteousness and honor in all phases of public life.

For the union ministers' meeting, month by month, a program of addresses and discussions on some of the most important problems before the church was arranged.

Cost and Facilities

Cooperative activities like the one just outlined are going on in most of the American cities on budgets which represent, on the average, the cost of operation of a single moderately large church. The distribution in thirty-three cases was as follows:

Size of Budget	Number of Cases
Under $5,000	2
Under $10,000	11
$10,000 to $20,000	10
$20,000 to $30,000	7
Over $30,000	5
Over $50,000	2

In the ordinary case the support of the federation comes about equally from individual subscriptions and from church appropriations. Increasingly the denominations recognize the federation in their plans of benevolence, and include it within their official apportionment schemes.

A federation usually has no plant of its own, no individual memberships, no particular parish. Almost invariably it operates from a rented office, furnishing a modicum of space for its paid workers. It borrows facilities for larger meetings from the

various churches, and is a marked example of large enterprise conducted on very limited resources. Its secretary is a man of meetings and conferences; an adviser in multitudinous problems; a recipient of many confidences; often on occasion the pastor and comforter of a wide circle of ministers and denominational leaders. The federation's work is conducted under a good many limitations and qualifications. Volunteer advisers are always trying to steady the ark by such counsels as, "Avoid the subject of church union—Keep still about theological issues—Be sure not to step on any denomination's toes—Don't mix in politics—See that the work is not spread out too thin—Don't get too far ahead of the constituency."

With such moods in control, the cooperative enterprise, so glorious in idea, can clearly not sail full steam ahead. The permanently vital forms of cooperation are not yet fully established. Various aspects appeal to various minds. Their sphere is not even well defined in theory. "Cooperative counsels but independent denominational action" and "Coordination without operation" are formulas which slow down effective progress to the pace of the slowest cooperator. The official door is as a rule firmly shut to all interdenominational projects which cannot run the gauntlet of unanimous agreement. Adequate leadership for urban Protestantism can scarcely be hoped for from this method alone.

(c) INTERORGANIZATIONAL COOPERATION

Increasingly the church federations are taking in other Protestant cooperative movements as departments. Thus in a number of cities the separately organized religious education movement has become practically if not integrally a phase of the federation's work. There is thus developing what practically amounts to federations. Beyond this there is the still larger realm of cooperation in such forms as the "boosting" of one organization by another, joint meetings, joint celebration of religious seasons and anniversaries, the leading of working facilities, the maintenance of joint training schools, mutual agreement to consult in common affairs, the habit of keeping out of one another's way, and the habitual fellowship of leaders and officers. The mass effect of this cooperation upon separate projects is extensive and impressive. It constitutes no small part of the cooperative story. On the other hand, interlocking directorates are sometimes deliberately encouraged or provided for, and in rare cases there has been a joint employment of an executive or staff by more than one organization.

(d) INTERCONFESSIONAL COOPERATION

Cooperation between Protestant and Catholic or between Christian and Jew is limited in extent, and in the main is occasional rather than systematic and continuous. However, in educational movements

such as those in behalf of international good-will and in certain phases of law enforcement and social service, significant instances of interconfessional cooperation can be found. A few federations have committees on the development of good-will between Jews and Christians.

(e) NATION-WIDE COOPERATION

While migrants from the country are moving in vast slow streams toward the lighted cross on the metropolitan church, that church in turn is sending back a whole set of influences affecting the outlook, form and program of the church in the smaller city, the little town, the village and the open country.

The agencies for the national administration of religion, in both its ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical forms, are naturally located in cities. The headquarters of the major denominations are in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, but all the larger secondary cities are the seats of district headquarters, of educational and other institutions, and of a religious press for large tributary constituencies. This centralization has a very definite effect on the procedure followed in the handling of denominational affairs, and results in the extension of city influence.

In the offices of each of the denominational headquarters high over the city, hang great maps of the United States. By spots of color and large-headed pins and rows of colored beads are shown

the district offices of the denomination, the colleges, the secondary schools, the churches, the membership by states and cities, and the hospitals, orphanages and other institutions. In the committee rooms adjoining, the secretary reports when he comes back from the field trip, and here the annual appropriations are debated. Down the hall is the office of the denominational magazine, carried at a heavy loss in order to be circulated in all the homes of the denomination throughout the country. Here are the directing forces of the contests, circulating libraries, pledges, subscriptions, drives and campaigns and endowments; here are advanced the programs of annual meetings and assemblies, and the memorandum of wealthy men to be approached and prominent ministers to be asked to serve on the executive committee. The men who make the decisions involved in these undertakings and who formulate the policies on a nation-wide scale are city folk. They are in immediate contact with the city church, and thus its influence is communicated to the whole nation. The cooperative movement in cities consequently is in considerable part a direct effort to apply locally the ideals arrived at in the national denominational headquarters, just as the church federations are efforts to express the ideas of the Federal Council of Churches. Interorganizational committees link these national ecclesiastical movements with the national authorities of the great voluntary movements such as the

Y.M.C.A. The urban field of Protestant cooperation thus becomes exceedingly vast and finally takes hold on the total strategy of Protestant Christianity throughout the world.

ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF COOPERATION

In following out what may be regarded as the main line of officially approved Protestant cooperation, one should not be blind to various alternatives. Particularly one should be sensitive to the possible influence of Protestant cooperation on the unity of communities and of the nation. For the completer organization of Protestantism is a means rather than an end. It intends to be and ought to be a stage in the closer drawing together of all men of constructive purpose and good-will. It must therefore relate itself to the total process of integration which is going on in American cities, according to which millions of strangers from hundreds of thousands of remote or alien communities are finally able to adjust themselves as fellow citizens, fellow workers, and fellow human beings. In other words, the growth of Protestant cooperation raises the question of the proper relationship between ecclesiastical and community movements. The first phase of this problem concerns the sphere and function of constructive secular agencies. Protestants are at one on the support of the public school. There is very great difference, however, between cities and indeed between regions, in the

degree of confidence given to government with respect to maintenance of public, social and philanthropic institutions. One city does three-fourths of its philanthropic work through public and non-sectarian agencies; another less than half, religious bodies taking by so much a larger responsibility in the latter community. The former has fifty per cent more such agencies than the latter. In other words, one city is doing through the state at least half of what the other is doing through the church. Which is right? Each, possibly, in its own situation; and only experimentation can tell how much each has to do to reach the other.

Another alternative rests between the further development of the federated type of Protestant activity and the extension of the voluntary type. It has already been suggested that forms of co-operation which must always wait upon the virtual agreement of the bulk of the denominations and which consequently go only as fast as the slowest, might not be so good for some purposes as forms of cooperation which depend upon the voluntary initiative of Protestants working outside of denominational lines and machinery. Protestantism has made large use of non-ecclesiastical agencies in the past, and perhaps will have equal use for them in the future.

Still another alternative relates to non-sectarian character-building agencies which use local churches as bases of operation; for example, the Boy Scout,

Girl Scout, and Camp Fire movements. These organizations develop local units within churches and under church control and sponsorship. But they are themselves not sectarian, and they associate children and young people together without putting the brand of any particular faith or communion upon them. This phase of cooperation may frequently be preferable to that which includes only Protestants, even though it were to include all Protestants.

The use of one or more of these alternatives reduces the size of the sphere in which formal and exclusive Protestant cooperation is necessary. Indeed, one very good way of cooperating is not to mess the situation with too many sectarian enterprises which will then need adjustment to one another. Christian citizens may well cooperate in non-sectarian ways to control and utilize the Christian state. It is sometimes a good thing to put enterprises upon the community for support. Provided that conflict and rivalry are avoided and the needs of the people served, a community may be just as Christian if it does fewer things through the church as such.

The Problems of the Smaller Cities

These considerations have particular significance for the smaller cities in which cooperation in its federated form has found difficulty. In the main they are not large enough to serve as administrative

units for denominational work. A city of one hundred and fifty thousand may be the seat of a bishop, but his diocese will be half a state. It may be the headquarters of a district superintendent, but his district will be much larger than the city. Most of the denominations will have no agent or organization competent to enter into authoritative cooperative relationships. There is less of the metropolitan urge to centralization. The power of obstructive personalities is greater. There is little cooperation among churches within the same denomination, each church tending to go its own way in allegiance only to the remote denominational agencies. The churches are particularly unwilling to surrender what they regard as their independence of action, or to spend money for carrying out common plans. Under such circumstances the churches are actually under more pressure and are compelled to make more forced adjustments which are unwelcome, than if they were working under a reasonably cooperative system.

Neighborhood Cooperation

Some of the smaller cities afford the best examples of cooperation which begins at the bottom rather than at the top. Groups of neighborhood churches are getting together voluntarily and performing in common many of the functions which the federation sets up for an entire city. In a Massachusetts city six churches, each represented

by one member on an executive committee, have maintained for six years a teacher training institute, a program of common worship during Lent and in the summer season, and important interchurch recreational activities. When this local council of churches became well established, another group of churches in the same city set up an almost identical program and added a community house movement. Even a great city is not federated when it has done nothing more than establish a central church federation carrying on common functions for its churches. It is not really federated until the principle of cooperation is actually applied in a localized way to groups of churches in various sections and districts within the city.

Though less spectacular and not so well organized, cooperation of this type from the bottom up is perhaps just as important as cooperation from the top down, within the total movement of urban Protestantism.

CONCLUSION

To say the very least, Protestant cooperation in American cities has wrought a distinct change in the form, structure and method of the urban church. These manifold changes, relationships and activities *are* the church, in a new and impressive aspect. The church has become a more varied and at the same time a more unified organization. The movement has made many additions to the sphere of service.

Denominationalism has a modified and less isolated meaning and status, and the independent Protestant agencies have new and vitalizing connections with the organized core of the general movement.

The changes instituted by cooperation are by no means complete. Not all of the trends are well established, and the future at many points is both contingent and obscure. Cooperation therefore does not absolutely guarantee the success of Protestantism, but simply affords it a new opportunity. Here is an inspiring field of experimentation and adventure in which most heartening progress has already been made.

VIII

THE WELL-CHURCHED CITY

THE church as it exists today in the American city is chiefly the result of a natural evolution of organized religion, modified, along with other institutions, by the urbanizing process. The result of this process has continuously been affected by purposeful human effort, by the labors of saints and the schemes of ecclesiastics, but to no such extent that they can claim credit for it. The stress of changing fortunes rather than science or skill has played the rôle of master architect.

The city has treated the church roughly enough. In the course of time it has eliminated a large fraction of religious institutions as unfit, and has tossed the survivors about like corks upon the waves of change. Yet the city has also been in part upon the church's side. It has brought together believing men in multitudes and money in millions. It has flung down challenges and provoked advance. It has stimulated men to make novel religious experiments and combinations, at the same time providing relatively easy conditions for the expression of religion in the traditional forms. It has put its distinctive marks upon the church's successes as well as upon its failures. Men have labored in rural highways and hedges without achieving any such

outcome. It is the city which has made the great churches in its own image.

Cooperative effort ought to be able to tip the balance still more decidedly toward the church's success. No longer at cross-purposes with one another or with urban development, but resolved to think and plan together and to use for their common advantage the resources of the city, the churches might bend their institutions to the better doing of what urban life requires. The tendency is right and the way is open for urban communities to be served more aptly and adequately by their religious institutions. This consummation is theoretically conceivable in the light of the total facts which this book has disclosed. But is it practically probable?

Can America Hope for Well-Churched Cities?

The question is intended in no mere Utopian sense. It is not assumed, for example, that the church will be miraculously provided with a great deal more money for religious work. Beyond question it could save some money by conducting its work more wisely, and undoubtedly resources would be opened up if it were certain that the city were really to be better served by its churches. But assuming that church money will continue to be just as hard to get as it is now, and that no more than the present resources are available, what might be done if the church did as well as it knows?

Again, the existence of any more absolute

authority or ability to control local churches, ministers, and common resources than already exists in the average denomination is not assumed. What is assumed is merely the familiar present loyalty and sense of obligation now felt by individual Christians toward their denominational leaders and projects, part of it transferred, under careful limitations, to some federation acting for united Protestantism. Some increase of cooperative practice is predicated, but only so much as the actual growth of the movement warrants, not what might be produced under compulsion of any Protestant "unity of command." Mobilizing existent loyalties and resources only to this extent, how far might they go towards making any city—yours, for example—well churched?

The Analogy of Regional Planning

In considering the prospects of achieving well-churched American cities, it adds to the sense of the actuality of the situation, if not to its hopefulness, to reflect that efforts for the welfare of cities in almost any aspect show essentially the same problems as those which confront the church. The Philadelphia metropolitan area, for example, includes three hundred and fifty-seven separate political subdivisions, each under its own government. They are served by a common highway system; their sewage runs ultimately into the same bay, and their water supply must be drawn from the same general

sources; they are bound together by a common transit system, and their economic life is essentially one. But they do not have political unity of command. Such progress as is made in these spheres must commence with three hundred and fifty-seven separate units passing ordinances and levying taxes. Yet even this process may be brought under a unified plan, which is exactly what metropolitan regional planning attempts to bring about.

In getting common action under these circumstances, no single method is at all likely to succeed. But four different ways, all pointing in the same direction, are actually being taken. First, certain smaller political units are actually combining, being annexed by the cities or uniting to form larger units. Second, special cooperative forms of government are being created through which communities may act together continuously in affairs such as those relating to special taxation districts, metropolitan commissions, port authorities, etc., without sacrificing their political independence. The pioneering in such affairs is done by voluntary agencies such as regional planning boards that start by thinking and talking of the entire metropolitan area as one. Third, one agreement after another is reached as the result of discussion and compromise among the separate units. Finally, the units, acting separately in the knowledge and spirit of the common plan, carve out a good many of their projects independently, so far as machinery is concerned. All told,

a good deal gets done that might be accomplished by one central authority, without the dangers of submitting to such authority.

In exactly similar manner progress toward the well-churched city may be anticipated; it is in fact actively under way. A good many amalgamations of churches and movements are going on. Supplemental and unifying machinery is being created, as the chapter on cooperation has shown. Hundreds of separate agreements between otherwise competitive agencies are being reached. And to a really significant extent individual churches and agencies catch the spirit of the whole and act accordingly, without formal consultation or agreement.

Thus with no Utopian conditions and by no abstract single formula, but through numerous specific and varying applications of practical measures exhibiting a common tendency, hopeful progress is under way. It is to these movements that one must look for the promise of the well-churched city, not to occasional congresses on church unity, nor to the brilliant successes of a few conspicuous churches, nor to the dubious and one-sided advances of this denomination and that, while the average church and the main body of Protestantism remain feeble and wavering.

CRITERIA OF THE WELL-CHURCHED CITY

This final chapter accordingly attempts to discover the objective criteria of the well-churched

city; that is to say, the factors which tell whether or not a city's religious forces are adequate and effective.

Reaching the National and Regional Average

In order to be called well-churched, a city must obviously have churches which at least reach or exceed the institutional average set by city churches in its region or in communities of comparable size throughout the nation.

What this average is may be known from the United States Census of Religious Bodies. No one can tell whether or not the churches of New England are more spiritual than those of the South or of the Pacific Coast, but on a number of measurable points the census helps one to determine the institutional standing of churches. It shows that, considering the country as a whole, the average church in the larger cities has more members and costs more money than the one in smaller cities. It establishes also that regional differences are extreme. The South has more than twice as many Protestant church members relative to the native-born population as the West has. The Western city has a great many more denominations than the Eastern city. Its churches average only a little more than half as large; its Sunday schools are much smaller; its average budget is less than half; and its average property values are much less than half those of the Northeastern cities in particular. It

seems fair to conclude, therefore, that Northeastern cities are better served by their churches than are Western cities. And this fits in with the common understanding of the facts.

In view of these large fluctuations, which depend partly upon the relative ages of the regions and the comparative size of their cities, the fairest comparison would seem to be one between the churches of cities of about the same size in the same region. Within these limits one is justified in using the average of institutional development as a sort of standard of judgment for determining which cities are well served and which are poorly served.

The results of such a comparison can be easily generalized. The stronger and more adequate Protestant churches are found in rich cities which have relatively large American populations and varied industries, especially if the cities are also notable as educational centers. The marks of the poorly served city are perhaps not so obvious. Such a city is likely to include a higher proportion than the average of peculiar and erratic sects relative to the recognized and standardized denominations. Thus the religious sweepings of the continent have all been pushed to its Western gateway, up against the Pacific Ocean. Western cities indulge in a great variety of wild religions. Any outbreak of religious delirium or any emotional vagary is sure to find its way to them.

With this surplus of erratic types goes a wider

range of regular Protestant denominations, resulting in more extensive competition. With a Protestant population of a given size to work on, it is fairly obvious that the more it is broken up into sects the smaller must be the average size of the church and of its financial investment. The consequence is exaggerated rivalry among the Protestant forces. No situation could present a better illustration of the importation of faiths along with population, particularly as stimulated by propaganda. By the time the Pacific Coast was ripe for rapid development, all parts of the country were provided with agencies for evangelism. Early missionary work had been carried on primarily by the East in behalf of the West and South. Now, however, the South had reached the point of having distinctive denominations and had provided them with missionary boards and the resources of self-propagation. Denominations born west of the Allegheny Mountains and in the corn belt had also grown strong enough to seek continental expansion. Finding the East already well occupied by churches, and following the star of empire, they naturally turned westward. All these multifarious efforts at propaganda combined have not succeeded on the Pacific Coast in bringing as large a proportion of native-born population into the Protestant churches as obtains elsewhere. Is it too much to suggest that a considerably smaller number of denominational efforts, carried out on a more com-

manding scale, might have saved the individual church from its terrible feebleness and inefficiency and been better for the community as a whole?

Back of all this missionary effort lay the fact of unusual variety of population. Many of the foreign races which peopled the Pacific Coast were already Protestant. They were divided among a large number of separate nationalities. Consequently the Lutheran church, with which the majority of these Protestants were historically related, split into an enormous number of subdivisions. There had to be a Lutheran church for each of the Scandinavian nations, to say nothing of the branches reflecting merely different waves of immigration or obscure theological divisions of Continental origin. To top all this the northern European was easily assimilable and consequently open to propaganda spread by denominations of American antecedents. In addition to all the Lutheran divisions, each major denomination of English-speaking Protestants tended to establish a church for each of the Scandinavian nations: Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian—all had to have their Swedish, Norwegian and Danish congregations. A square mile lying to the southeast of the county courthouse of Tacoma is believed by the writer to have a larger number of small and non-significant city churches than any other spot on earth. Other Pacific Coast cities affected by the same processes are its nearest rivals.

A city most of whose churches belong to this baby brand obviously cannot be well served as to religious institutions. There must not be too many competing denominations, with the consequence of petty and feeble institutions. The well-churched city must be above the average in such measurable aspects of its religious institutions as have been discussed. In any city rational effort steadily applied can greatly influence the situation for the better on two conditions: first, that the denominations acting separately shall adopt the moderate standards presented by the average city church and shall not start churches which lack clear prospect of reaching these standards, nor withdraw from responsibility till the church has reached them; second, that a real city-wide strategy of Protestantism be developed and carried out under effective comity agreements and the guidance of some form of federation, at least to the extent now current in the more cooperative urban communities.

Institutional Efficiency Considered from the Inside

A second test of the well-churched city is that the average member of the church shall be institutionally well served in his religious life and fellowship. It is possible to conceive of circumstances under which this desirable condition might have nothing at all to do with institutional strength. The weak things of the world have frequently been chosen to confound the mighty, and the little church

sometimes does more for its members than the larger one. But on the whole it does not do so unless the larger one is too large. By far the majority of city churches are too small, judged from the inside. Their being below the average institutionally is simply the reverse of the fact that they fall below par in the services which they manage to render to men and women, boys and girls.

In saying this it is fair to put the little church's best foot forward. It gets more time from its members, in extreme cases ten times as much as the average. It gets more money from them, sometimes six times as much. But these differences are too great. The very small church is thus costly both in time and money. If the time were spent more rewardingly upon the things of the spirit, and if the money brought a proportionately higher grade of service, the excessive demands of the very small church might be excused; but what happens is that its people are preoccupied by the problem of merely operating the machinery. They are driven to over-organization and subject to overstrain. A vast church with a hundred organizations would be likely to have more people for each organization to work upon than these very little churches have. In Springfield, Massachusetts, the smallest churches have from four to sixteen times as many organizations per member as the average. This manifestly is not likely to improve their spirituality.

Being poor and miserable does not make either

men or institutions happy. Rather it undermines their morale and brings out many unenviable qualities. They get petty and care-ridden. This is the trouble with far too many city churches. The city, on its part, sets characteristic standards of facilities and organization. Even poor people have relations with big business, big industry, big education, large-scale and spectacular recreation. When the city church is in too glaring contrast with all of these tendencies, it cannot hope to succeed.

Again, the church which is too small cannot avail itself of the standards of living and activity to which the city church even in its less developed types is committed. It may have so few women that its women's organization has to take in the men. If there are too few children of any given age it cannot operate a graded Sunday school. There may not be a sufficient number of boys for a Scout drill nor of young men for a basketball team. In such a case no age group feels well served.

These are not merely superficial disadvantages. Every age group has its special social instincts and demands. Youth simply must experience religion through fellowship and cooperative activity with other youth. One of the most important services of the church to society is that it makes young people of both sexes acquainted under the inspiration of high ideals and helps to interpret the vivid contacts of adolescence. Finally, youth has to be inducted into the realm of mature responsibility, and

the individual adjusted to larger civic and community relationships. All these things are impossible in an organization which is too small to afford a sufficient variety of contacts, or to represent the range of constructive interests to which city life compels attention.

Consequently the universal mark of the very small church, except in a new neighborhood, is its one-sidedness; it cannot hold its young people. There are no classes of adolescents in its Sunday school. As soon as the adherent is old enough to realize the difference between a good church and an inferior one, he leaves the inferior church—unless he feels constrained for some extraneous reason to remain.

It is just as bad in the over-large church. The average adherent of such an institution gets off too easily in time and money. The average of actual participation in church affairs is low; there is little personal responsibility. The age and sex groups are too large and varied for cultural contacts to afford the best results. There are more people, but there is less fellowship. A city would not come to be well churched simply by developing churches each of which had more than a thousand members.

No scientific decision has ever been reached as to what constitutes the best average size for a church. Churches have to begin small; they grow large. It is probable, however, that the well-churched city should strive to multiply the number

of institutions having from four to seven hundred and fifty members, as an optimum condition, in which reasonable institutional strength and the development of an attractive and varied program may go hand in hand with a high average of individual participation and a wide diffusion of responsibility throughout the constituency. This too can be hastened by the pressure of persistent policy and effort throughout the years.

Adequate Geographical Churching of Urban Territory

A well-churched city must have enough churches to serve the population of every area. The census tells how many people live in each ward and precinct, but there is no means of deriving the size of the Protestant population from these general figures. The only way to get this is to conduct a house-to-house canvass in each area. Roughly speaking, however, the number of Protestants in the United States runs pretty close with the number of native-born. Not that all native-born Americans are Protestants and that no foreign-born Americans are, but the exceptions approximately neutralize one another.

There is already one Protestant church for every 1,731 native-born Americans in the larger cities. Of this population from one-fourth to one-third is unchurched and does not furnish potential adher-

ents under the methods of evangelism and appeal which the church now commands. From the remainder it draws churches with an average membership of about 320. This average exceeds by more than a half the size of the most frequent type. At this rate, to get the desired membership of 400 to 750 there should be from 2,200 to 4,000 Protestants for each church to draw upon.

Should we therefore wait for the prospect of from 2,200 to 4,000 unchurched Protestants before starting a new church? Obviously this is altogether too simple-minded a formula, even interpreted as meaning that there is real likelihood of some such number of people within a few years, and that rival churches will keep out of a church's way until it has won them. It will never be possible to isolate any group of urban Protestants by drawing a circle around their homes, or to induce them to become the exclusive constituency of any one church just because they are geographically neighbors. The reason most commonly given for this is that different kinds of people require different kinds of churches. But there are two other reasons equally pertinent: first, churches are not always equivalent as social institutions, they do not have identical meanings for the community; and second, the residents within an area do not have identical relations to that area—some live where they sleep and pay taxes, others where they work and play.

Each of these factors must be independently weighed if we would see clearly the picture of the well-churched city. In practice it yields only the crudest approximation of evidence when one knows how many Protestants live in a given area; but even this crude step should not be omitted in determining the adequacy of the churching in any city area.

Enough Churches for All Kinds of People

Experience shows that certain Protestant denominations are virtually interchangeable. They are so nearly alike that their members—little as ecclesiastics relish the fact—go from one to another with little sense of strangeness or practical inconvenience. But other denominations simply are not interchangeable. Deep-seated feelings make it difficult for their members to be satisfied by a type of church radically different from that in which their religious attitudes and habits were formed. Some of these differences even appear to be relatively accidental and easily modified by a change of circumstances. Still other denominations seem to be deeply rooted in psychological differences in human temperament, and for these, under any system of institutional efficiency, adequate provision must be made. No formal suggestion as to what these differences are will be ventured here. It will probably be agreed that there is need for both liturgical and non-liturgical churches, and, of the non-liturgical, for both the more emotional and

more intellectual types, together with less easily described variations.

The desirability of providing three or four types of churches within reach of the average Protestant home, so as to allow choice, may easily be made to fall in with the structural characteristics of cities. Nearly the entire urban area is definitely organized about centers, large or small. The centers are connected by axial streets, and the residential districts spread out from such foci and are bounded by these streets. Under conditions of average density of population, assuming the population to be Protestant to an average degree, a church located in any of the four sectors surrounding even a minor center might find a constituency of from 2,200 to 4,000 within a radius of three-quarters of a mile.

In the location of neighborhood parks and playgrounds and elementary schools, city-planning authorities lay it down as a principle that mothers and children must be able to reach these facilities without having to cross streets devoted to heavy traffic. The parishes of family churches tend to take the sector form, showing that they are actually bounded by such artificial barriers. Most city churches are located in clusters. Around the major centers one already finds churches of all sorts. An ideal condition would place around each minor center a group of churches as different as possible from one another in their psychological characteristics and emotional habits. Each could then serve

that part of the Protestant population living in its sector which was not desperately concerned with sectarian differences. This would take care of the large majority. Then those living in the area who had to have a church of their own sort could find it by crossing the natural boundaries but without going to an unreasonable distance. This system of location in clusters might leave each church enough Protestant population to enable it to reach the optimum size, and at the same time give all people a convenient chance to attend a church of preferred type. It would offer the best theoretical solution for all those areas around minor centers which have reached average development. It would provide for the major part of the population. In sparsely settled residential and suburban areas exclusive fields might be established until in due time they develop similar centers of their own.

The Churching of Downtown-Minded

The well-churched city must provide enough centrally located churches to match the tendency of city populations toward a non-territorial grouping and to gain the advantages of city-wide religious institutions. Surveys of a typical smaller city have shown that half of the people who go to church at all march straight away from near-by churches of all denominations to attend church at some remote center entirely out of the area in which their children go to the ward school, in which they attend

the neighborhood movie house, and in which they patronize the neighborhood druggist and grocer.[1]

In the larger cities, probably because of the great distances involved, a smaller proportion of churchgoers attend church outside their neighborhoods. Nevertheless, in many residential areas at least one-third of the theoretically Protestant constituency must probably be counted out from the standpoint of the local churches, because they are downtown-minded or have more or less permanent ties or interests which pull them out of the neighborhood for their religious fellowships. Under these conditions it may take as many as 20,000 to 32,000 Protestants in the residential area surrounding a minor center to warrant a full variety of local churches and assure each a constituency sufficient to reach the optimum size. This necessity the local churches rarely see.

The demand for central churches relates primarily, of course, to the big centers of cities; but it comes almost equally to apply to the secondary centers which are among the characteristic developments of all cities when they have grown, say, beyond 250,000 population. All larger cities definitely set up a process known as "centralized decentralization"; that is to say, new centers spring up, with their concentration of commercial enterprises, their banks and trust companies, branch libraries and postoffices, transportation services, perhaps their

[1] Douglass, *Springfield Church Survey*, page 282 seq.

separately localized industries, their rim of hotels and apartment houses, and their grouping of amusement houses around some little Great White Way. The churches located at or clustered near these secondary centers pull in turn upon all the surrounding residential districts, exactly as the churches at the big center pull upon the entire city.

This is not a matter in which one can say whether or not the facts are as they ought to be. Whether one likes it or not, the city and its people are like this. The effective church can only adjust itself to the situation. Unquestionably it must be set down as the city's supreme social achievement that it makes for the free association of people and their grouping along lines of common interest. Groups having this origin are more vitally significant than the older ones based on mere proximity or occupancy of common territory. Mobility and freedom from local bondage are the heart of the city situation. The ability of institutions to reach out indefinitely in all directions tends to give them the maximum of usefulness.

The particular common religious interests which may draw people together from afar may be denominational. Increasingly, however, denomination alone fails to explain the phenomenon of people's going long distances to church. It is only the extremely peculiar sects which deny that salvation can be reached in any other way than the one they offer, or those which have racial solidarity as a basis that

pull from great distances adherents who have no other common interests.

One of the most valid grounds of association in central churches is the fact that centralized work creates its own natural social groupings. What may be called the work-play group consists of the employees in an individual business or plant located in a part of the city which is given over to some specialized occupation. Within these populations groups arise which habitually seek recreation together. They establish pleasure clubs, athletic teams, and the like. Exactly the same impulse leads them to colonize within one or more churches. Such a church may be very remote from the locality where these workers live, and yet be a natural place for them all to go, in view of their gregarious habits and daily movement to and from a center. This realignment of social activities upon the basis of occupational fellowship is a distinctive urban phenomenon of highly constructive significance.

Another stream of common interest finds its source in the possession of radical ideals not based upon previous sectarian or racial or occupational grouping. Propaganda, whether liberal or conservative, and civic-mindedness even of the most commendable sort, together with any specialized school of thought or of religion, tend to draw people together from all parts of the city into a conveniently central institution. Very likely most of the aggressive experimentation in religion must

be worked out under such conditions, while the older and more standardized pattern of church remains committed to the propagation of accepted ideals, and to such limited experiments as fall in with ecclesiastical forms and keep step with the rather deliberate pace of ecclesiastical progress.

All these forms of urban association on the basis of common interests have great significance for religion and furnish a sound basis for its institutions. They may result in very substantial types of churches which should be distinguished from those based upon the mere imitative herding of curious and casual crowds. Churches of this herding type constitute a secondary phenomenon of centralized religion. For them churchmanship is but another form of showmanship. An intermittent religious vaudeville draws its changing crowds exactly as other forms of downtown amusement do.

Only the most detailed and objective research and survey can tell what is the best ratio between downtown and residential churches in a given city, and at what point adequate provision has been made for the more stay-at-home type of city population and for its more mobile and downtown-minded groups in a given area. Doubtless many of the latter might be equally well served nearer home if churches of varying types were appropriately distributed.

Enough Churches of Each Type

Churches are not institutionally equivalent. No doubt even the denominations are far more interchangeable for the average church member than local churches within the denomination may be. In all the ways which count for him—the quality, tone and content of preaching, methods of religious education and opportunity for social life, effective internal organization, missionary activity, community outreach—one may easily find a Methodist church more like the Baptist church from which he came than any Baptist church easily available; or a Presbyterian church more like the Lutheran church from which he came than any Lutheran church easily available. Denominations in some measure represent different types of churches as social institutions. But irrespective of denominations, the well-churched city must have enough types of churches and enough churches of each type to match the different types of people.

This means that temporarily, at least, the well-churched city has to have the poor and meagre churches that meet the needs of immigrant populations which are familiar with the church only on this level. Thus, paradoxically, the ill-churched parts of the city are well-churched in the sense that their feeble and erratic institutions are for the moment more suitable than any others could be. For a poor church, institutionally speaking, which

expresses the minds of a given element of the population, may be more useful than one of higher standards and achievements. It is valuable as a crutch is valuable to help one over a temporary disability. Thus the efforts of immigrants to establish their religious life on the level of their own custom, however inappropriate this may be for the city, is appropriate for these people themselves and consequently deserving of respect and sympathy. Incidentally they serve to get Protestantism established in churches on all social levels. It is frequently difficult, however, to find enough people of homogeneous type so related to a neighborhood or to a common interest as to afford a church of optimum size.

However, with respect to any particular population this difficulty should pertain only for a short time. Ample evidence has been given that although people are slow to urbanize fully, they are quick to urbanize partially. The traditional church of the immigrants usually ceases to satisfy, and the red-hot emotionalism of the peculiar sect soon cools. Some touch of the city is promptly felt. The well-churched city will keep on hand an adequate supply of underdeveloped churches for emergency use, at the same time seeing to it that they do not last unduly, and especially that they are not perpetuated merely by denominational subsidies. On the contrary, as the assimilating forces work, it becomes easier to modify the more divergent churches and

ultimately to organize them into the practical fellowship of the cooperative and adjustable group. Securing enough churches of each type largely depends upon having definite types in mind when churches are founded, or on deciding upon definite ideals at the time of some subsequent crisis.

It ought to be every child's right to be well-born. New churches which come into being under the auspices of and with the administrative and financial aid of the standard denominations, are robbed of their birthright if they are not helped to find themselves quickly. No one type of church is better than another, except as one may tend to afford a more careful application of character-building processes in the stages of human development through the various age and sex groups. There is simply a better type for any given time and situation. An understanding of the possibilities and requirements of the types as to leadership and facilities, and of the optional choices afforded by a good many situations, is not too difficult. The means of diagnosis are at hand in the study of the community. Fifty suburbs will fall under five or six fairly uniform types of the city's expansion. All the areas of the older city present characteristic situations, most of which have been illustrated in earlier chapters and are, after all, not so very numerous. Experience has shown within fairly definite limits what types of churches are really available. The church described on page 80 illustrates a young institution

possessed of real distinction, not because it is spending a great deal of money but because it was started after careful planning and with adequate facilities. By a comparison of cases, one discovers about what plant, program and type of leadership are needed and what they will cost. City missionary processes thus become primarily a sort of statesmanship which sees definitely what the city demands, mobilizes resources, and works out the proper conditions church by church.

Obviously, the determination of what constitutes "enough churches of each type" cannot be determined except by the bringing together of all separate denominational plans. On the other hand, a really comprehensive all-Protestant city-planning project is not beyond the bounds of possibility. It might well take the form of a holding corporation to secure property and make it available for churches as the development of the city creates the need for them. It must involve a continuous survey, section by section, to discover religious needs in ample time to provide for their fulfillment all along the line. But enough churches of each type cannot be secured merely by giving attention to the establishment of new churches and to churches passing through acute crises. The process involves an understanding of normally established churches and a direction of their efforts as related to the normal shifts in their respective situations. This necessity includes even the very strong churches.

Change comes to the city like a thief in the night. It takes eternal vigilance to keep all of the churches in definite contact with the objective characteristics of their communities all of the time.

Furthermore, the well-churched city will be one in which a good many churches which are blessed with some margin of strength and resources, are engaging in deliberate experimentation in order to determine what type of institution they should develop. Cooperative supervision should make a point of knowing when any church of any denomination embarks upon a significant venture. It should then follow up the experiment to find out what it costs in money, staff and equipment, how it works out institutionally, and where it lands the church as a community force. This information should be made available for all other churches.

The demand for enough religious institutions of each type applies to the church's extensions and allies as well as to individual congregations. In a certain city there were at the same time hundreds of empty beds in the denominational children's homes, and many children who could not get into any home because the requirements were inelastic and devised rather to help the institution than to help the children. In another city, at the very moment when an insistent demand was being voiced for a new type of institution to which delinquents could be committed, it was discovered that half a dozen institutions had been founded to meet just this

need, but that no one of them was competent to meet it in view of the highly specialized methods and the careful segregation of types of delinquents required by modern penology. It would add too much to the difficulties and burdens of the church federation movement if it were to be asked to take over the federating of Protestant social agencies as well as of the churches proper; but the need of coordination and realignment is equally urgent with respect to these extensions of the church, and if America is to have well-churched cities, it is imperative that some movement take it over. Beyond this, even more radical readjustments, such as those between churches and such independent allies as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., must also take place before the ideal of the well-churched city is reached.

Proper Control of Mobility and Relocation

To make a city well-churched, it is necessary properly to dispose of its institutional material at any given time. A city changes so fast that some institution or other needs to be moved or transformed nearly every day. It keeps its people on the move and its churches on wheels. Four or five locations in seventy-five years is not a rare experience for a city church. In the main lines of city development, twenty years is frequently the average period which a church can count upon for maintaining a given institutional policy.

Previous chapters have traced the wholesale

abandonment of neighborhoods by churches and their relocation in new areas. Like a flock of pigeons, all took flight at once and all alighted again together as a flock. Previous chapters have also traced the crowding in of cheaper substitute churches to occupy the abandoned fields of older ones. They do not fit the needs of the stranded remnants of the older churches' constituencies any more than the older churches fitted the needs of the vanguard of the new peoples whose invasion finally drove the old churches out. Transitional situations like these, in which the existing condition does not match the necessities of some large minority of the people, are highly characteristic of cities. These are the points of most tragic loss to the church. The church was not ready for the new people; it ran away from the old population before they had all gone. From both sources the ranks of the unchurched were swelled.

Case studies in previous chapters have shown numerous alternatives to removal—churches which stayed and avoided the new people by going only among the old remnants, churches which have gathered two or three separate constituencies under one roof without assimilating one with the other. Other illustrations showed sincere and wholehearted acceptance of the facts, and attempted complete adaptation of the church's program to the new need. The results of these efforts, however, never reached one hundred per cent of success—indeed

they usually involved a cost of extreme one-sidedness in the character of the institution or in the constituency.

Through all such changes, and by the use of many methods, the well-churched city will keep churches enough to be in active and sympathetic touch with all of the people all of the time. It will move them here and there promptly as need arises, or with equal determination will hold them until they ought to go, or will keep them permanently, modifying them so that they can stay and serve effectively.

When all this location and relocation of churches is carried out piecemeal and independently by individual churches which feel that they must do what is necessary to live, whether they serve or not, it is done very badly, to say the least. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it is done disgracefully and wickedly. A worthy urban strategy of church placement must realize that the Protestant body at large has no business to leave the single church to the test of doing what it must in order to survive. By pooled resources—primarily denominational ones for churches of each order—and by common planning, the evils of mobility may be conquered and the church as a whole may keep up with the city.

New Forms of Protestant Religious Institutions

It appears probable that the well-churched city must develop new forms of Protestant religious in-

stitutions. When one considers the present organizational units which the city presents for organization, the outstanding fact is that their average strength is very feeble. City churches are in the main smaller churches. It is impossible to contemplate the financing and equipment of all or most of them on the scale and according to the standards of the things with which city people have to do. The city masses are accustomed to large-scale operations; to big business, colossal industries, vast facilities for public education, great and glittering theatres and movie houses, ball parks and stadiums seating tens of thousands. Even the little corner store is likely to belong to an almost endless chain of stores with enormous capital.

How can the values of the little church be retained, and Protestantism at the same time get itself organized into more commanding unities?

Several tendencies seem to suggest what is perhaps the solution. A great proportion of the churches which are strong enough to do so are rapidly developing broader programs, especially in the direction of organizing expressional activity for separate groups. All sides of human nature, it is felt, should be adequately interpreted by religion in terms of the needs of each age group and of both sexes. If this demand is to be realized, it requires some form of Protestant organization necessarily on a larger scale than the average church.

The movement for week-day religious education

promises to secure more time for one specialized interest of religious culture. In its most promising experiment the week-day schools are carried on by neighboring groups of churches. Before they can satisfy the ideals of their projectors they will require much money, specialized equipment, and a technically trained staff of administrators and teachers. Meanwhile the Y.M.C.A. and to some extent the Y.W.C.A. are increasingly erecting community buildings at strategic locations away from the main centers of cities where their primary work is located. The Protestant community is having the benefits of and is ultimately paying for these buildings, without controlling them or having their presence adjusted to either the program of the local church or the cooperative program of the churches in general.

Finally, the local church is experimenting with a specialized staff. Here is a director of religious education who does other kinds of work at least three-fourths of his time because he has not a full-time job in religious education in a single church. In another church a recreational director or a community house superintendent is in the same case. The job even of the deaconess or the secretary is split up among numerous interests because a single church cannot furnish enough work of a given sort to occupy one for the entire time. This obviously prevents true specialization, and holds back the development of standards of preparation and in-

cidentally of the professional character and remuneration of these emerging Christian vocations. But groups of churches acting together could easily utilize the services of a director of religious education, a recreational director, and several other specialists.

Taking all these factors into consideration, it seems to the writer that the outlines of a new type of neighborhood Protestant institution naturally emerge. Call it a Protestant religious high school and community center. Think of it as belonging to each natural district in the city which possesses a minor center serving, say, 100,000 people through its central institutions. Regard it primarily as a case of "centralized decentralization" for the Protestant denominations. Regard it as an agency for the expression of the cooperative life of a group of churches which cluster around such a center. Through it they do together things which they are severally too weak to do, with respect both to present needs and to the future program toward which the movements enumerated are evidently converging. It will be a community young men's and young women's week-day school, a training school for Sunday school teachers and for voluntary social workers, a school of missions, a recreational center with gymnasium and swimming pool, for all the churches of the district. In its current activities it may be largely self-financing, as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. buildings are, but it would belong

to and be operated by the churches as a supplementing of their own program; and it would be for their entire normal constituency rather than for special ages and classes in the community. It would not take anyone out of the neighborhood to which he belonged by reason of his school and social relationships, his daily habits of coming and going to market or to work. It would retain the local church in its full integrity, while offering a more commanding expression to the Protestant cause, together with facilities commensurate with those afforded by the city in other lines. Federation would cease to be a matter of committee meetings at central headquarters and of long-range promotion of city-wide programs, and would become a matter of face-to-face execution of plans arrived at by mutual conferences of the churches immediately concerned.

This larger Protestant institution would rival the smaller ones, but to a less degree than they are now rivalled by the downtown churches and community institutions not under church control, which have better facilities and a correspondingly broader appeal. The local church would simply get over the idea of carrying out on its own resources the whole of its present program. It would devise an institution for its own reinforcement. It would seek through cooperative effort to accomplish what it has failed to work out separately. The creation of such larger units would in turn cut off the neces-

sity of running downtown for the more ample satisfactions of church life and fellowship, and would leave the churches at the city's big center to become still more highly specialized institutions expressing city-wide Christian interests.

The factors which must be taken into account in the creation of the well-churched city have now been reviewed. Typical institutional strength and size must be attained by city churches. They must bear the proper relation to population, to religious temperaments, to the requirements of certain special types of communities. They must minister aptly to population in every stage of urbanization, must meet the issues of frequent removal of location or its alternatives, and must evolve new forms of cooperative expression.

But the piecemeal effort to accomplish these desired ends in the case of a particular city is complicated and difficult. Doing one thing undoes or imperils the doing of another. "Enough churches of the right kind" fails to ensure enough churches in the right place. Practical application brings conflict, while the formulas unapplied merely remain empty. What can be done in so involved a situation?

Exactly one thing. If the problem of a city's religious institutions is sufficiently subdivided and enough time and money are spent, the case of each church and group of churches may be checked against each of the formulas for the well-churched

city and a concrete answer found. How many people live within a given area, and how many and what kinds of churches would they have, all things considered? It is not impossible to consider all things, one at a time, and to find in the methods of painstaking, scientific accounting the guidance that is needed. That is to say, an objectively accurate statement of any given urban situation as related to organized religion may be made as a ground for diagnosis of its needs, and a prescription of means for filling the needs may be arrived at. A continuous process of religious survey, in brief, can measurably answer the questions of adequate churching for any group, or even, if properly extended, for the city as a whole.

If American cities ever become well-churched it may be expected to come about in this way.

CONCLUSION

Thus, at the book's end, the reader may come to a fairly commonplace practical conclusion, namely, that in American cities cooperative human effort, with science to interpret whatever situations have evolved or may evolve, can go far toward assuring the adequacy and effectiveness of city churches as institutions. When one measures what is by what might be and what ought to be, the task is colossal. Moreover it requires a strenuous stirring of dry bones in many quarters. In brief, it is by no means

a reactionary task. "Who is sufficient for these things?"

To many genuine friends of religion, however, the conservatism of the conclusion will be disappointing. They will regard it as uncourageous, and will say that to make the status quo one's point of departure in bettering the church is merely to carry on the stupidity and ineptness of entrenched ecclesiasticism. They will point out the book's own emphasis upon the holdover quality of much of the city church's activity and method, and will ask for a radical disentanglement of the permanently or currently valuable elements from the mere deposits of the past.

The church as they would have it will be altogether different and altogether better than the present one, and toward this mark they would press instantly. Sometimes one glances up beyond the city's tallest tower and sees an aviator writing in the sky in letters of smoke. It is of such unsubstantial fabric that the building of the better church is generally undertaken when one is unwilling to use the grosser materials of the present church. The writer has recently studied and pondered over several hundred documents in which religious leaders of a great city tried to tell how the church could be better. All who did not merely say in effect, "Do more of what is being done now but do it better," either descended to platitudinous formulas or indulged in unbridled rhapsody. Who has a suggestion for the

church's actual next step which does not follow out steps already taken? And precisely what is that next step? To the book's own challenge, "A church to match the city—one as bold, as adventurous," the answer is, "Such a church exists now in outline. Fill out the sketch with what colors are at hand and then see what's to do next."

Does one say, "But the city does not go about things that way. Its methods are drastic. See how it tears down skyscrapers to build greater, how it removes mountains to extend its streets. Behold the city's radicalism." The answer is, "Behold also the city's conservatism. When it tears down a skyscraper it is infinitely cautious not to undermine the building next to it. It learns to use dynamite gently. It excavates to build streets among subways and conduits, vehicular tunnels and underground passageways among pipe lines for water and gas, cables for telegraph and telephone, mail tubes and delicate signal wires. The flow of the city's life through any of these channels must not be interrupted. So the city digs tenderly, as though uncovering the fragile treasures buried in a king's tomb." The ways of the city, then, are on the side of the preservation of the old while building the new, on the side of continuity rather than of breaking with the past. Moreover, it implies a vaster plan to comprehend the necessary conservation for rebuilding an old city and at the same time to envisage the highest flights of creative daring, than to imagine

the untrammeled erection of a heaven-piercing tower in smooth and grassy fields where no one wants such a building.

There is also always the chance—and faith seizes upon it—that one who builds as well as he knows may be building better than he knows. For no city did its builders ever design a skyline. "The conscious stone to beauty grew." Rigid angularities of individual structures of iron and concrete melted finally into a flowing contour, varied, romantic, flooded with color. Above the skyline after dark the city makes a field of light, sets a White Way in the heavens and with its myriad candle flames outshines the stars. In these great syntheses of the day and the night the city manifests itself as a whole, other and greater than any sum of its parts. These, its more transcendent beauties, men call appearances. They exist only for the beholder's eye, yet are more dear than any marketable reality. Their builder and maker is God.

Organized religion in the city also has its sweeping skyline, which the eye of affection sees as it brings together the long series of phenomena which collectively make up the church. Its several expressions—buildings, congregations, agencies, activities, types in their procession and trends—merge into a continuous form, arresting in variety; or, when even the form is obscured, remain a diffused field of light, star-sprinkled.

Yet none the less is it fitting, sometimes at least,

to bring the church down to the street level; to deal with it specifically as a social institution—the city's church, with the stamp of its habitat upon it, and its glory dimmed by the dust stirred by millions of shuffling feet. At any rate, for better or worse, this is what our book has tried to do.

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